

HOW TO BE AN ACTIVE CITIZEN

PAUL DOUGLASS and ALICE McMAHON

HOW TO BE AN ACTIVE CITIZEN

By Paul Douglass

and Alice McMahon

Americans do not like to fail at anything, but are they failing at being Americans?

How to Be an Active Citizen by Paul Douglass and Alice McMahon of Rollins College explores this failure in citizenship, which applies to nearly 75 per cent of the American people. This book explains many of the ways all may have a hand in the shaping of government—not only the things a citizen should do, but for the first time, how to go about doing them. The book also reviews accepted methods of writing letters to editors and officials, of organizing neighborhood political sessions, and of contributing to and working for political parties.

Dr. Douglass, professor of government, and Miss McMahon, director of the Center for Practical Politics at Rollins College, compiled the book from research materials gathered by student teams at the college.

Working under a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, the Center has initiated many research projects of the operation of government. The results of such research demonstrated to Dr. Douglass and Miss McMahon the need for a book which tells a citizen how he can build, in his own personal way, skills of effective political participation.

Some of the skills presented by Dr. Douglass and Miss McMahon are: discussing public issues, writing and talking to public officers, belonging to organizations that take stands on public issues, contributing to a political party or candidate, and voting.

In discussing one of the essential parts of citizenship—evaluation of issues—the authors

How to be
an
ACTIVE
CITIZEN

The mere establishment of a democracy is not the only or principal business of the legislator, or of those who wish to create such a state, for any state, however badly constituted, may last one, two, or three days; a far greater difficulty is the preservation of it.

—ARISTOTLE, VI:5.

**University of Florida Press
Gainesville - 1960**

How to be an ACTIVE CITIZEN

PAUL DOUGLASS
AND
ALICE McMAHON

BE INFORMED
ON
PUBLIC ISSUES
1

DISCUSS
PUBLIC ISSUES
WITH OTHERS
7

TALK AND
WRITE ABOUT
POLITICS
17

BELONG TO
ORGANIZATIONS
THAT TAKE STANDS
ON ISSUES
34

CONTRIBUTE
TO A
POLITICAL PARTY
OR CANDIDATE
41

WORK FOR A
POLITICAL PARTY
AND A
CANDIDATE
51

VOTE
69

HOLD
PUBLIC OFFICE
AS A
PRIVATE CITIZEN
80

323.65
D7374
c.3

SOME OTHER BOOKS BY PAUL DOUGLASS

Teaching for Self-Education as a Life Goal

Communication Through Reports

Six Upon the World: Comparative American Biographies

The Workshop Way in the Church

God Among the Germans

Courts of Limited Jurisdiction: Mayor and Justice of the Peace (2 vols.)

Practice and Procedure in General Courts of Limited Jurisdiction



The studies on which this report is based were made under the auspices of the Rollins College Center for Practical Politics which has had the support of grants from The Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation. However, the Foundation is not the author, producer, or proprietor of the book and is not to be understood by virtue of its grants as having approved any statement made or view expressed therein.

A University of Florida Press Book

COPYRIGHT, 1960, BY THE BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS
OF STATE INSTITUTIONS OF FLORIDA
LIBRARY OF CONGRESS CATALOGUE CARD NO. 60-15683
PRINTED BY THE MILLER PRESS, JACKSONVILLE, FLA.

By way of introduction

This book answers an earnest question: *How do you as a conscientious American master the working skills essential to your performance as an active citizen?*

The volume is not concerned with winning elections, or conducting campaigns, or registering voters, or organizing precincts. Each page speaks directly to you—to you who want to make up your mind thoughtfully, express your opinions resultfully, and vote sincerely. The chapters describe the kinds of acts you must perform in your role as citizen.

Aristotle asked the central question which is the theme of this study: How do the excellencies of a good man and a good citizen become one and the same? The great Greek came to this conclusion: The good man and the good citizen become one when a man of character possesses the skills which are necessary for the performance of his role in the state. Without mastery of such skills character stutters and efforts are frustrated.

From its extensive research conducted under a grant from the Maurice and Laura Falk Foundation, the Center for Practical Politics says: "Here's how!" Here are the lessons social science and political experience teach us. Here are the operational things you as a citizen must do in your everyday schedule and in your own personal way to build habits of effective political participation.

These pages describe how you as a private citizen perform your public office.

PAUL DOUGLASS
ALICE McMAHON

How to be
an
ACTIVE
CITIZEN

For reference

- An active citizen?* Citizen's dilemma - 1 Solution - 1 Necessity of skills - 3 Skills of citizenship - 3 Questionnaire - 4 Citizenship activity scale - 6
2. *Discussing public issues with others* How Athens did it - 7 How London did it - 7 How Washington did it - 8 Politics is controversy - 8 Principles of political conversation - 9 Information-decision process - 9 Reading aloud - 9 Discussion evenings with neighbors - 11 Issue book - 11 Pro and con memorandum - 12 Position brief - 13 Political participation chart - 14 Skills - 15
3. *Talking and writing about politics* Asking and telling - 17 Talking with public officers - 18 Writing letters - 18 Simplifying letters - 19 Types of letters - 21 Asking for something specific - 22 Inquiring for information - 22 Expressing an opinion - 23 Expressing confidence - 24 Letters to the editor - 25 Standards for publication - 27 Taboo letters - 28 "London Times" policy - 29 "New York Times" policy - 30 How to write a letter to the editor - 30 Skills - 31 Where and whom to write in politics - 33
4. *Belonging to organizations that take stands* Relevant questions - 34 Types of groups - 35 Political party groups - 35 Age groups - 35 Women's groups - 37 Party groups - 37 Senior citizens' clubs - 37 Official party committees - 38 Permanent action groups - 39 Skills - 40 Where to write for information - 40
5. *Contributing to a party or candidate* Political costs - 42 The "interests" - 42 The "unions" - 42 Reuther's proposal - 44 The Ford Program - 44 Proposals for reform - 45 Political giving - 45 Give-A-Buck campaign - 46 COPE - 47 Community organizations - 48 Religious giving - 48 The ultimate personal decision - 49 Skills - 50
6. *Working for a party and candidate* Having a "concern" - 51 Keeping informed - 51 Self-responsibility for neighbors - 52 Registering neighbors - 52 Information events - 52 Understanding the precinct - 53 Mastering the political calendar - 63 Precinct map - 54-55 Choosing a candidate - 56 The caucus - 56 The convention - 59 The direct primary - 59 The petition - 60 Inventorying the candidates - 61 Identifying the issues - 62 Choosing a candidate - 62 Supporting a candidate - 63 Mathematics of precinct victory - 64 Running for precinct office - 64 Skills - 65 Books about practical politics - 68
7. *Voting* Voting as a privilege of freemen - 70 Extension of suffrage - 72 Why citizens don't vote - 72 Voting is worthwhile - 74 A sense of duty - 75 Classical concept of the voter - 75 Symbol manipulation - 76 Habit and skill - 76 Scheduling time to vote - 76 Keeping issue and candidate notebooks - 76 Marking the sample ballot - 76 Politics is won by one - 77 Skills - 78
- Public office as a private citizen* The work of a citizen - 80 Woman suffrage - 80 Mrs. Burn of Tennessee - 82 Hugh Bentley cause - 83 Rickover's "Nautilus" - 84 Luccock of Yale - 85 Men of Light and leading - 86 Skills - 87 General citizen reading and reference suggestions - 88

What is an active citizen?

What is an active citizen? That sounds like a question asked by Socrates. As a matter of fact it was!

Let's think with his pupil Plato about it. When Socrates drank the hemlock cup in an Athenian jail, Plato as a young man of nineteen witnessed the tragedy. At that moment he asked: *Why?* Why should the best and wisest of men be condemned by his neighbors? To this question he added a second one: *How?* How can government be organized in the hands of the citizens best qualified to provide justice? How can the good be realized in the state? What kind of city must we have in which a just man like Socrates can live without fear of being condemned to banishment or death? You see, to Plato the philosophical and the political problems were one and the same.

The search for an answer to these two questions—*why* and *how*—provided the fuel for Plato's consuming life mission. When Plato witnessed life as it dealt with Socrates, he was a pessimist. When Plato looked upon his own obligation to change the world, he was a radical. Plato was both a pessimist and a radical as is every thoughtful man!

*Citizen's
dilemma*

Here is the dilemma of the thoughtful citizen as Plato stated it: How in an imperfect world shall one live and what shall one do? Here are the possibilities: *Flee?* But where shall one go? Is politics not the same everywhere? *Retire?* From the vain, pushing, jostling, glittering—and engrossing—city? *Take refuge?* In private life? In study? In the cloister? *Live on the sidelines?* Withering, as George Santayana observed, into an "amiable ghost"?

Solution

What then is one to do? What course is left for the citi-

zen if he can neither live in the city nor withdraw from it? Plato became immortal by pointing out the *only* means of escaping the dilemma: wise, honest, competent men must be at the helm of the state. Philosophers must become kings. Or to put it another way: Kings must become philosophers. Political power *ought to be* in the hands of the informed and the competent. But how can the “ought to be” become the “is”?

Greece fell under the blows of the Macedonian barbarians because it failed to find a solution. We must in our turn find the answer for ourselves—or forfeit democracy.

In many different ways through the ages thoughtful persons have continued to ask and to answer Plato's question. Edmund Burke for example said: *All that is necessary for the forces of evil to win in the world is for enough good men to do nothing.* José Martí, whose statue stands in every Cuban school yard, declared: *When good men are indifferent, bad men will triumph.*

From Plato in the Athenian olive grove to the man of the 1960's on the American Main Street every answer to the persistent Greek question has come to rest in the meaning of the two words *active citizen*—a person informed about public issues and competent in the skills necessary for him to influence public policy.

In a democracy people wish no king, dictator, or any ruler whose office comes by force of arms, accident of birth, or imposed merit—even though he may be as ideal as Plato's philosopher-sovereign. By its nature a democratic citizenry periodically selects its leaders from among its members. Democracy thus requires a performance on the part of every one of its active citizens: he must make decisions to choose his leaders. Assuming that for each of the half-million elective offices at all levels in the United States there are two candidates, and that the total number of

potential voters reaches 100,000,000, then individually Americans must make 50,000,000,000,000—fifty trillion—decisions when they express a collective preference for one candidate over the other. This staggering total of individual decisions makes up the electoral process by which democratic leadership is constituted and renewed and reinvigorated. From these myriads of decisions the influence of the active citizen comes into focus to select a wise, responsible, and effective leadership. It is a rare year indeed in which the active citizen of the United States is not called upon to perform his public office by making up his mind about which fellow citizen will best serve the nation or the state or the local community. In the end the power and durability of democracy depend upon the developed skills of its active citizens to choose wise and good men as their political leaders. Democracy operates as an educational system. It entrusts as much responsibility to its citizens as they at any one moment are capable of assuming as a condition of their growth. Democracy shares responsibility for the decision-making process among the people. Collectively the active citizens sustain democracy.

*Necessity
of skills*

Every activity in life requires proficiency in specific skills. Thus for example a child comes to play the piano by practicing the scales and fingering exercises. A youth swims confidently after mastering the strokes. A housewife learns to cook by following recipes. A stenographer takes dictation because she knows her shorthand. A golfer wins by using his practiced eye on the putting green.

What are the specific skills of citizenship? How may you develop each skill by practice? How may you become an adept active citizen?

*Skills of
citizenship*

Plato discussed the skills of citizenship as he walked and talked with thoughtful young men among the olive trees of the Academy in Athens. Twenty-four hundred

years later from a New York skyscraper Elmo Roper, a professional social scientist, conducted a massive study to identify the working skills of a citizen. What did he find out? Listen to Elmo Roper: the active citizen

- discusses public issues with others
- writes and talks to public officers, asking questions and giving his opinions
- belongs to organizations that take stands on public issues
- contributes to a political party or candidate
- works for the election of a candidate to public office
- votes.

Now let's test your skills to see how you measure up. "Know thyself" was an admonition which for Socrates meant self-examination. To him the unexamined life was not worth living. Are *you* an active citizen? Answer these ten questions to find out.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Score

1. When I get together with my friends, do we discuss public issues

- | | | |
|-----------------|--------------------------|------------|
| • frequently? | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| • occasionally? | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| • never? | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 ____ |

2. In these discussions do I

- | | | |
|---|--------------------------|------------|
| • usually try with facts to convince others that my position is best? | <input type="checkbox"/> | 2 |
| • take an equal part in the conversation? | <input type="checkbox"/> | 1 |
| • mostly listen, but once in a while express my opinion? | <input type="checkbox"/> | 0 |
| • usually just listen? | <input type="checkbox"/> | -1 ____ |

3. Do I belong to any organizations that sometimes take stands on public issues?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ -1 _____

4. In how many such organizations am I active?

- 4 or over (overcommitted) ☐ 1
- 2 or 3 ☐ 2
- 1 ☐ 1
- 0 ☐ 0 _____

5. Do I write to my congressman, senator, representative in the state legislature, local officials, or other public leaders to let them know what my feelings on specific issues are?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ -1 _____

6. Do I talk with these public officers to obtain authentic information and to express my opinion?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ -1 _____

7. During the last four years have I worked for the election of any political candidate by doing such things as distributing leaflets, telephoning neighbors, or calling on voters?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ -1 _____

8. Have I attended any meetings during the last four years at which political speeches were made?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ -1 _____

9. In the last four years have I contributed money to a political party or to a candidate for public office?

- Yes ☐ 1
- No ☐ -1

10. Approximately how many times during the last four years have I gone to the polls and voted?

- Every time ☐ 3
- Twice or more ☐ 1
- Never ☐ -1

My score: number plus _____

less number minus _____

Total _____

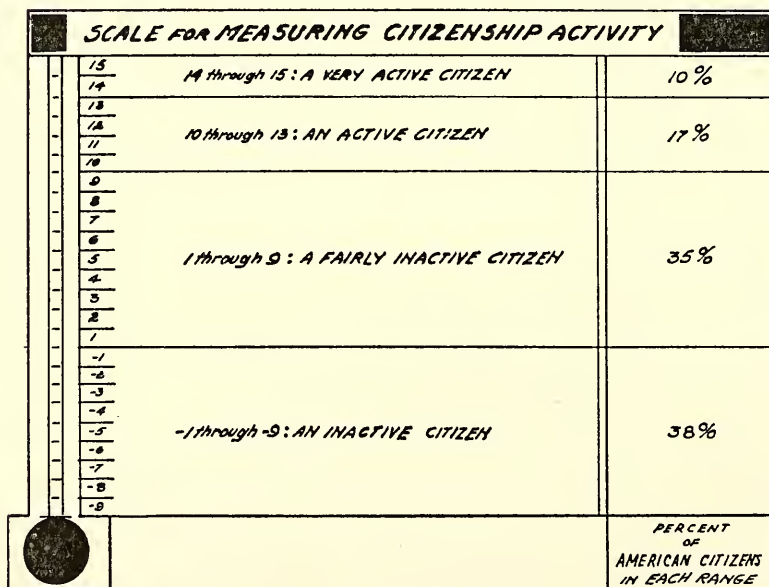


Chart your performance as an active citizen! Take your total points. Draw a line across the thermometer scale at the number which corresponds with your score. With your pencil blacken the tube section from the bulb up to that line. The resulting chart defines your degree of active citizenship.

2

The active citizen discusses public issues with others

Through the ages face-to-face conversation has continued to be the most effective means of communication. People exchange ideas by word of mouth. They take turns talking and listening. John Dewey pointed out that ideas which are not communicated, shared, and reborn are but soliloquy. Publication, he said, is partial and the public which results is partially formed and informed until meanings pass from mouth to ear.

*How
Athens
did it*

After servants cleared the tables, guests at Greek dinner parties relaxed to talk. They called this high point of the evening a *symposium*. Reclining on their couches, leaning on their elbows, sipping their cups of wine, the guests became an intimate group discussing ideas. The symposiarch, who catalyzed the thinking, took pains to see that the topic raised was of interest to the entire company. He skillfully involved all the guests as participants. He never permitted the conversation on any one point to be drawn out to tiresome length. He allowed no few individuals a monopoly.

*How
London
did it*

In London men met just to talk. Samuel Johnson, Edmund Burke, Sir Joshua Reynolds, Oliver Goldsmith, and David Garrick used to convene evenings in the tavern by seven and argue into the wee hours of the morning. The English coffeehouse became a talking forum for the generation and refinement of ideas. The Wednesday Club, which strangely enough met on Friday Street, carried on conversations which resulted in the founding of the Bank

of England (1694). Around a table in Rose Tavern citizens, deciding to desert James II, gave strength to the Glorious Revolution. During the reign of Queen Anne the Kit-Cat Club became an important stronghold of Whig intellectuals. The Beefsteak Club was its Tory equivalent. Jeremy Benham convened a group in his Queen Square Place house. The discussions carried on there left a permanent mark in the history of British jurisprudence and social reform.

*How
Washington
did it*

In Washington during the 1930's and 1940's the Sunday evening dinner symposia conducted by Mrs. E. Borden Harriman at her Georgetown estate Uplands became an institution in the nation's capital. Her invitation to one of these occasions was more than a social recognition; it was Mrs. Harriman's testimonial to the intellectual leadership of persons known to be taking sides on controversial issues. After a dinner of superb food amid sophisticated décor Mrs. Harriman divided the guests: at her right sat those who supported the issue; at her left sat those who opposed it. As hostess she presided like the Speaker in the House of Representatives. She took the responsibility of seeing that positions were authentically asserted, defended, and argued. These evenings at Uplands provided a forum for examining ideas and their consequences.

*Politics is
controversy*

Sociologists like to say that *society exists in communication*. In the practice of politics active citizenship begins in conversation. Political awareness makes thoughtful discussion inevitable. The question is always the same: *public policy*. That means what is best for the state to do and through whom. Generally opinions differ on answers. Thus *politics is controversy*. And political controversy is only thinking through differences of opinion to define a course of action. By informed discussion of alternative programs for dealing with problems free people define public policy.

Through the practice of discussion accepted principles to guide productive political conversation have been established. Here they are:

- The issue discussed should be of common concern.
- Each person should try factually to convince others that his position is best.
- There should be no monologues.
- There should be no periods of silence.
- Participants should probe, explore, explain, inform, clarify, and persuade.
- No issue should be dragged out to tiresome length.
- No topic should be carried beyond the limit of information available within the group.
- The climate should always be sportsmanlike.
- Every responsible opinion should be respected and inspected.
- A political discussion should produce light rather than heat.

A useful political discussion digests information to help people make up their minds. A political conversationalist talks about issues *and* candidates *and* parties—perhaps about all three at the same time and in the same breath. The range and reliability of his information measure the quality of his discussion. His diplomacy in logic determines the degree of his influence. Thus the whole political process proceeds in an unending information-decision operation which leads a citizen to vote his convictions at the polls—to vote for what he believes is best for him *and* best for the state. Information is supplied to the mind by mouths which speak, ears which listen, eyes which see, and is judged by brains which think and consciences which weigh.

A good deal of political information comes from just gossip; a good deal more reliable information comes from

reading. Let's talk for a moment about the practice of reading aloud as a means of keeping politically informed. Reading in the family circle has long been a household habit. At bedtime the parent reads to the child. The wife reads to the husband. The husband reads to the wife. In such intimate relationships there is a mutual concern and at-easeness. But above all, reading aloud in the family can become a continuing means of political education.

How does one best read aloud? Here's how!

- *Plan:* Choose an article or document on a controversial issue that matters. Select it in terms of length. It should be short enough both to hold attention and to allow time for family discussion when the reading is completed.
- *Posture:* Stand. Walk around the room as you wish. Sit down when you feel like it. Always command respect for the ideas.
- *Speed:* Read distinctly at a rate of 120 to 150 words a minute. That's about what the ear can catch and the mind absorb. If you go too fast, your listeners will be frustrated. If you read too slowly, they will be bored.
- *Voice:* Read naturally. Your normal tone is your best reading instrument. Use it!
- *Mood:* Leave your listeners alone. Let them sew, knit, repair fishing tackle, or keep busy with do-it-yourself gimmicks.
- *Duration:* Stop before attention flags. Reading aloud has no purpose when it becomes a chore for you or a bore to your listeners. You are done when felt-satisfaction ebbs.
- *Talk:* Start talking when you stop reading. You have shared the reading; now share the ideas which come from it. Discuss!

Once you get the practice of political reading aloud started in your family circle, every member will be on the lookout to collect bits of information to share. The habit is ongoing, cumulative, exciting!

Another stimulating political instrumentality is the neighborhood discussion evening. A physician with an enormous practice and a magnificent home invited his neighbors for an evening of informal discussion. He planned the occasion to be explicitly political. In fact he even invited the Democratic and Republican precinct leaders! The format of the evening was simple. The neighbors met after dinner for an hour. The doctor selected the issue to be discussed because of its general interest on his street. A week in advance he circulated an outline with reading suggestions. To lead off the discussion he invited a fellow citizen of competence and stature, authentically informed and respected by and congenial to the group. He chose three neighbors as an interview panel. When the guest had completed his presentation, the trio fired questions at him. Presently under the quiet and skillful leadership of the physician everybody was participating. There were no refreshments, no added calories, no fuss no muss; but minds had been awakened. The neighbors, long complacent, comfortable, and fiftyish, had experienced something new under their sun. They liked it!

Because politics is controversy about what is best to do and who should do it, you need to accumulate information to support your decisions. How? Here is one simple and effective device. Take a particular issue which concerns you and state it as a question on the first page of a loose-leaf notebook. That book will be your cumulative record of facts, information, and opinions. It becomes an instrument in your political decision-making process. *An issue notebook can be the single most useful tool in your equipment*

*Discussion
evenings
with
neighbors*

*Issue
book*

as an active citizen. The only materials required are shears, paste, blank pages, and a notebook for orderly arrangement.

In deciding what is worthwhile to include in your issue notebook, use the trusted formula of content analysis: *who* says *what* to *whom* at *what time* through *what channel* and *why*. The date, source, and authority of each clipping or bulletin need to be recorded. Your issue book is your political bible!

PRO AND CON MEMORANDUM

Whenever you as an active citizen study an issue or candidate and go through the process of selecting one course of action among alternatives available to you, you are engaged in a "think operation." These think operations develop your political competence. A pro and con memorandum provides one good means for thinking things through. Here is how you build a pro and con memorandum.

1. Statement of the issue

The issue to be decided is this:.....
.....

2. Definition of terms

To understand this issue it is necessary to be clear about the meaning of the following terms:.....
.....

3. History of the issue

Here is how this issue developed:.....
.....

4. Basic principles in controversy

Pro	Con
.....
.....

5. Names and interests of persons supporting each side

Pro		Con	
Name	Interest	Name	Interest
.....
.....

6. Pros and cons of the issue: Summary

Pro		Con	
	weight* given to point		weight* given to point
.....
.....
Total Pro ———		Total Con ———	

*Use 10-point scale in weighing relative importance

7. Consequences of my decision

These consequences will result if the issue is decided

Pro	Con
.....
.....

Your position brief

When you have completed your evaluation of an issue in the pro and con memorandum, write out a position brief to show clearly why you propose to take the stand that you believe is best. Summarize your responsible conclusions. Make them so explicit that you can submit them as the occasion arises for respectful examination by others. Stand ready sportsmanlike to defend them before all sincere questioners. How does a position brief look? Here is the format.

Position brief

I hold the following opinion:

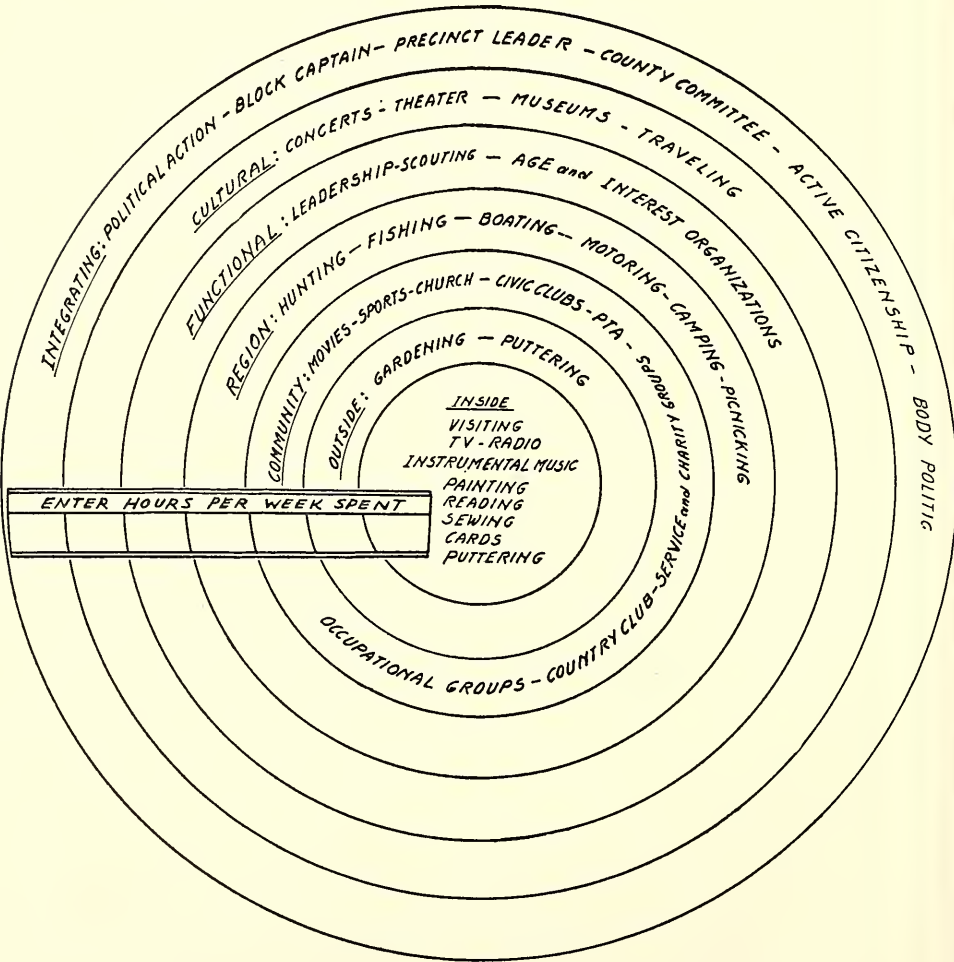
For these reasons:

because.....

because.....

Chart of Political Participation

Active citizenship brings to living a lifestyle. That lifestyle has outreach from the home as its center to the circumference of the community in ever broadening circles. How far is your reach from your living room? Indicate the areas of your interest by penciling on the scale the hours per week spent in doing specific things.



PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

1. My plan for a political conversation:

Issue:.....

Group:.....

Place:.....

Day:..... Time:.....

Reaction: negative ☐

mildly favorable ☐

enthusiastic and continuing ☐

2. My plan for reading aloud:

Where:.....

When:.....

What:.....

By whom:.....

To whom:.....

Reaction: negative ☐

mildly favorable ☐

enthusiastic and scheduled again ☐

3. My plan for a discussion evening:

Issue:.....

Place:.....

Date:.....

Guest:.....

Interview panel: 1.

2.

3.

Invitees:.....

.....

.....

Reaction: negative ☐

mildly favorable ☐

enthusiastic and scheduled again ☐

4. My issue note book:

- Looseleaf book acquired: ☐
- Issue stated: ☐
- Source of material:
- newspapers ☐
 - magazines ☐
 - handbills ☐
 - other ☐
- Performance record:**
- planned but not done ☐
 - kept up to date as a routine chore ☐
 - used and borrowed by others ☐

5. My pro and con memorandum:

- Issue:.....
- Performance record:**
- planned but not done ☐
 - done as a routine chore ☐
 - used and borrowed by others ☐

6. My position brief:

- Brief drafted:.....
- Reaction of others:**
- my reasons were weak ☐
 - adequate ☐
 - decisively persuasive ☐

3

The active citizen talks and writes about politics

Long before the invention of printing, centuries before radio and television became as common in a household as the easy chair, the mouth and the ear served as nature's apparatus for political communication. They still do! And so does the age-old habit of writing letters.

Active citizens are forever talking about politics. They launch facts and ideas into circulation. Their conversation is studded with information, controversy, gossip, and individual opinion about the actions of the government and the performance of public personalities. They are thinking—thinking through what is best for the government to do, how it should be done, and who is best to do it. *Talking is the superlative political act.* It is the instrument used by the everyday man to chart the common course.

To cultivate the art of political conversation is to develop one more skill of citizenship. In the process of face-to-face discussion, opinions emerge, decisions on issues come into focus, minds are made up about the comparative worth of candidates. Generous amounts of political conversation and gossip—about issues and personalities, about what ought to be done, and what items belong on the agenda—make a citizen literate and vertebrate. Without such give-and-take, thinking remains “just talking to one's self.”

Asking
and
telling

You as an active citizen are forever asking questions and giving information. You draw out others to see what they are thinking. You tell them what you think. Here are some of the rules of political conversation:

- Discover the interests of the other person by asking a few simple, exploratory questions.
- Lead into a political conversation on the topic of optimum mutual concern.
- Draw the other person out by asking questions to encourage him to define his position.
- Strengthen his position—if you agree—with all the facts, arguments, and enthusiasm you can muster.
- Diplomatically lead on—if you disagree—with new facts, reasoned viewpoints, persuasive arguments to test your own opinion against his reaction.
- Welcome controversy. That's politics. That's democracy. That's the process of thinking things through. But always remember the courtesies. Be respectful. Be objective. Be sportsmanlike. Be accurate. Be as willing to be convinced by a stronger argument as you are anxious to persuade.

*Talking
with
public
officers*

Your most direct performance as an active citizen is an oral, face-to-face conference with a public officer. You say to your mayor: "When are you going to fill those holes in the road in front of my house?" You are asking for information. You want an action answer with a calendar date. The mayor replies: "When the new fiscal year begins. Right now we're out of money." Thus you have defined your respective positions.

Some cities provide bureaus to give information and receive complaints. Philadelphia has a complaint office on the ground floor of the city hall courtyard.

*Writing
letters*

Side by side with political conversation stands the letter. A written communication goes directly to the desk of the proper official. It demands an answer. It urges action. Competence in political letter writing is another skill of the active citizen. The letter—at once direct and personal—is a potent instrument in the hands of the citizen.

Just begin:

Senator John Blank Doe
Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Senator Doe:

Mmm
 mmm
 mmm
 Mmm
 mmm
 mmm.

Sincerely,

You may call a public officer “Mr.” or, preferably, refer to him by his official title such as “Mayor Clark” or “Senator Holland.” Nothing more is needed. While the form of the letter ought to be as unpretentious as possible, the message should have power. Every word should count. Every verb should be strong and motivating to produce clear, action-provoking sentences.

*And how
citizens
do write!*

Charles A. Halleck as representative in Congress from the Second Indiana District reported in 1960 that he received from 50 to 100 letters and telegrams a day expressing opinions on pending legislation. Although the ratio varied, about half of these communications came from citizens who were not his constituents but wrote to him as House minority leader. During the 86th Congress he received thousands of letters urging support of a balanced budget and effective labor reform legislation. These letters poured into his office on the "Hill" in a volume of several hundred a day when the issues were in the headlines.

Halleck once asked his colleagues in the House during an Easter recess to sound out the opinion of the folks back home. One congressman reported to him: “I have been in

receipt of over 7,000 letters asking me to back the Administration's stand for a balanced budget with no new general taxes."

John F. Kennedy as United States Senator from Massachusetts said that in 1960 a large percentage of his Senate mail expressed "either an opinion or an emotion, and very often a combination of the two." His legislative communications averaged between 1,000 and 1,200 each week. After he announced his candidacy for president, more than three out of five letters began to flow in from sections of the nation other than Massachusetts.

An enormous volume of letters pours into the White House. Following a State of the Union message, for example, 1,000 letters may flood 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue Northwest. When the President makes a major speech the number may reach 3,000 or 5,000. These letters are read by an administrative assistant, and as Malcolm Moos, who has served as an administrative assistant and speech writer for President Eisenhower, once said, a study of these letters is "an exercise which every thoughtful student of American government would enjoy."

In all cases the volume of mail bears a direct relation to the strong public feeling on issues pending before Congress, to the size of newspaper headlines, to the tone of newspaper editorials, to the feeling of urgency created by telecasts, to the activity of various interest groups, and to the impact of the issue on the private citizen.

*Types of
letter*

Letters to public officers fall into four classes:

- asking for something specific to be done
- inquiring for information
- expressing an opinion supported by fact or emotion on a controversial issue
- approving good judgment and expressing confidence.

*Asking for
something
specific
to be done*

This letter produced prompt results:

Congressman A. S. Herlong, Jr.

House Office Building

Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Congressman Herlong:

To carry forward research the *Center for Practical Politics* wishes to have copies of the map tracts used in the 1960 census in Orange County.

Herbert Benson, fifth congressional district census supervisor, located at the Orlando Air Force Base, telephone GArden 3-0561/623, assures me that he will be pleased to make these census tracts available, provided he is authorized to do so by the Bureau of the Census.

We shall appreciate your helpfulness if you will have the office of Robert W. Burgess, director of the census, Department of Commerce, issue to Mr. Benson whatever kind of clearance may be necessary.

Sincerely and with appreciation of your continuing courtesies,

PAUL DOUGLASS

Professor of Government

Congressman Herlong's reply is reproduced on page 25. Promptly by Western Union telegram the Bureau of the Census directed the district census director to make the tracts available. The district director telephoned the Center for Practical Politics, saying that he was authorized to comply with the Center's request.

*Inquiring
for
information*

An active citizen wrote this letter:

Dear Senator Kennedy:

I'm trying to think through my own conviction as to whether it would be in the best interest of the United States for the president to recognize the People's Republic of China by an exchange of diplomatic

representatives and at the same time to support the People's Republic for membership in the United Nations.

My pastor preached a sermon Sunday pointing out that Christians should support both steps.

It will mean a great deal to me if you will give me your opinion.

Sincerely,

DIANE C. BOGGS

Senator Kennedy's reply is reproduced on page 26.

*Expressing
an opinion*

Public officers want to know what positions their constituents hold. Such knowledge is their political life. They can survive in office only so long as they maintain the confidence, respect, and support of the active citizen who goes to the polls and votes.

Letters mechanically drafted in stereotyped expressions under the tutoring of some lobby lack an authentic ring. Communications which convince are those which are carefully composed as a result of mature thought. They embody a man's own convictions. They are sincere! An active citizen's voice counts most when he says: "Please vote for Senate Bill No. — because . . . because . . . because . . ."

In a letter a constituent asked his Minnesota Senator to vote on a certain bill with these words:

I favor the establishment of a Bureau of Accident Prevention in the Department of Labor

Because it is necessary to reverse the trend in occupational injuries;

Because 90 per cent of all occupational injuries and illnesses and the resultant personal tragedy can be stopped;

Because the National Safety Council says that with indirect losses a force equivalent to 760,000 men is idle for an entire year;

Because industry loses \$3,500,000,000 annually as a result of these unnecessary injury costs;

Because the total economic time lost on account of industrial accidents amounts to 230,000,000 man-days a year;

Because fair competition requires the enactment of this bill;

These facts convince me, and I hope they do you.

I will respect you as a representative of political courage and common sense if you vote for this bill.

There it is: a position supported by factual reasoning.

*Expressing
confidence
and
appreciation*

Although letters pour in endless daily volume to the desks of public officers, few active citizens take the time in moments of controversy to pen thoughtful notes expressing confidence and appreciation. Here is a letter which warmed the heart of a Senator. The active citizen wrote:

This is just a little note to say that I admire your constructive political courage and sound thinking as expressed by your vote on S. 94. I'm proud that you're in Washington to represent me!

*What
letters
cost*

Letters replying to communications from active citizens do not come cheaply. A corporation studied the cost of producing a letter ready to be dropped into the mail box. Here is the figure: \$1.25 a letter! The Center for Practical Politics estimates that the average reply to an active citizen's letter by a Senator or Representative—franked—costs approximately \$3.50. Writing and answering political letters are expensive operations. Nevertheless the practice is both necessary and influential. Conscious of the startling cost of a two-way exchange of letters, you as a prudent citizen make your thought explicit and your composition eloquently and persuasively concise. A good letter is the product of the mind *and* the heart. Clarity and sincerity stand side by side as the twin virtues of the good political letter.

A. S. (SYD) HERLONG, JR.
FIFTH DISTRICT, FLORIDA

COMMITTEE ON
WAYS AND MEANS

HOME ADDRESS:
LEESBURG, FLORIDA

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.
June 6, 1960

Mr. Paul Douglass
Professor of Government
Rollins College
Winter Park, Florida

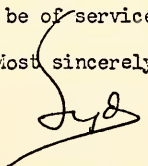
Dear Paul:

Thank you so much for your letter of June 2nd.

I have contacted Dr. Burgess' office, and I understand from him that the maps Mr. Benson has will have to be turned in to the Census Bureau when the office in Orlando closes, which will be in a week or two. However, Dr. Burgess advises that there is no objection whatever to your having them reproduced or copied for the use of the Center for Practical Politics, and at my request he is sending a wire to Mr. Benson this afternoon giving him the authority Mr. Benson feels he must have to make the maps available to you for this purpose.

I am, as always, glad to be of service.

Most sincerely,



A. Sydney Herlong, Jr.

ASHJr:acw

*Letters
to the
editor*

Writing letters on public issues to newspaper editors is another identifiable characteristic of active citizenship. As policy most newspapers and magazines print letters written to their editors by their readers. They accept as their public obligation the responsibility to provide a public

JOHN F. KENNEDY
MASSACHUSETTS

COMMITTEES:
FOREIGN RELATIONS
LABOR AND PUBLIC WELFARE
JOINT ECONOMIC COMMITTEE

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D.C.

Miss Diane C. Boggs
Box 22
Rollins College
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Miss Boggs:

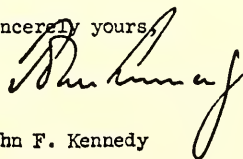
Thank you for your note inquiring about my position with regard to the admission of Red China into the United Nations.

In my judgment there are forces in China which far transcend the diplomatic formula of recognition either by the United Nations or by the United States. I do not deny that there are circumstances in which the recognition of China might be appropriate -- especially if there is a willingness to recognize an independent status for Formosa and a settlement of the American prisoner issue. However, I do not think it wise to proceed to recognize any nation as a result of threat or bluster. In the case of China, the present moment seems to be a very inopportune one, in the light of renewed Chinese pressures against India and other countries in Southeast Asia.

I personally do not feel that this is a moral issue primarily but rather a matter of political judgment. I think it should be pointed out, too, that the British have not felt that they have gained much as a result of their recognition of China as early as 1950.

With every good wish,

Sincerely yours,



John F. Kennedy

JFK/md

forum. Letters-to-the-editor constitute one of the most influential channels by which you as an active citizen can express your ideas to a wide audience on timely subjects of general concern.

Editor & Publisher, the newspaperman's trade journal, devoted much attention to the comprehensive study of newspaper editorial policies and practices on letters to the editor conducted by the Center for Practical Politics. Here is what the study showed:

- that newspapers take seriously their responsibility to provide for and to encourage the expression of opinions by readers;
- that letters-to-the-editor columns have reader appeal and are valued by publishers as circulation builders;
- that newspapers as a matter of public fairness generally give priority to positions which differ from those of their own editor;
- that noncompetitive newspapers take especial pains to encourage expression of opinion because of sensitivity to the problem inherent in their monopoly of the local channels of communication;
- that letters tend to be published in a quantity representative of the flow of opinion in communications received;
- that fair abridgement by the editor often improves letters, making them more interesting and readable.

The *Lakeland Ledger* gives sound advice to readers who write to its column "Where Readers Have Their Say":

BE BRIEF—BE COURTEOUS—BE FAIR—
BE CONSTRUCTIVE.

The *Clearwater Sun* adds:

BE SENSIBLE—BE TIMELY—BE IN GOOD TASTE.

The publisher of the *Orlando Sentinel* comments:

Most letters are too long. We simply cannot print letters in full and get a sizable representation of them in print. So, we do the obvious. We trim them down. However, we make a serious effort—and sometimes this is a painful choice—to retain the writer's words and, at least, his thoughts.

Secondly, very few letter writers seem familiar with the rights of others. The average letter writer doesn't hesitate to call somebody a commie, a crook, a wife-beater, or whatever enters his mind. So, in such cases of ridicule or libel or discourteous and low blows, we change the wording, sometimes a whole sentence or sometimes delete a paragraph or kill the whole letter outright.

Because we are painfully careful to protect the integrity and reputation of others, these letters must be read with meticulous care. A letter may go smoothly for 150 or 200 words and then, as you are about to approve it, the writer will sneak into the last sentence a crack which would not only be in bad taste, untruthful, and malicious, but it would also bring a libel suit against the paper.

*Taboo
letters*

Fairly general agreement exists on specific taboos which make the publication of a letter impossible. This catalogue indicates the kinds of letters which editors find unacceptable for publication. Such letters are:

- anonymous
- blasphemous
- electioneering
- grammatically incoherent
- inaccurate
- indecent
- libelous

- monotonous
- out-of-circulation-area interest
- packaged as form letters to support pressure group campaigns
- poetic in form
- publicity-seeking
- race slanderous
- repetitious
- silly
- vulgar.

A review of these categories indicates that editors intend to maintain standards of decency and integrity. They throw out letters which are vulgar, libelous, dishonest, insincere, incompetent, malicious, untimely, uninformative, or just dull.

From reading their mail, editors come to respect active citizens who write letters to them. Most communications have the ring of sincerity. Many are written by thoughtful but obscure citizens. One editor regrets the "lamentable reticence on the part of college people, salaried personnel, and government employees" who are well qualified to speak out.

"*London Times*"
policy

"Letters to the Editor" as a column in *The Times* of London provides a historic feature of enormous influence in Britain. The editor calls it "a platform for men and women distinguished in every calling, and thus performing a service to public opinion." Back in 1849 Charles Dickens began to write letters to *The Times* on the demoralizing nature of public executions. His protest was the beginning of a lively correspondence. A few years later public executions were abolished.

Letters to *The Times* range from the three-word "Let's Govern Cyprus" to the longest letter ever printed in newspaper history. This communication, published on October

"New York
Times"
policy

13, 1898, discussed the famous Dreyfus case. It filled seven and a half columns! *The Times* never cuts a letter without the knowledge and permission of the writer.

The *New York Times* publishes two columns on the editorial page devoted to readers' letters. Because of this space restriction only four or five can be used each day, since *Times* communications are fairly comprehensive and unusually authoritative. The *Times* receives between fifty and a hundred letters daily; hence most letters of sheer necessity must be rejected. To those whose letters are not used, the *Times* sends a mimeographed note so that the contributor may feel free to offer the material for publication elsewhere.

In selecting letters for publication, the *Times* chooses communications with a "subject matter of current interest." Such letters, as the editors say among themselves, are "on the news." The *Times* gives preference to letters from persons who are well informed in the field discussed. To this end it often carries an italic note above the letter giving the writer's qualifications for commenting.

Further, the *Times* attempts to balance publication of pros and cons on controversial subjects as much as possible, giving to each position equal space. Before shortening a letter, the *Times* wherever possible consults the writer. It finds that most writers tend to overwrite.

How
to write
a letter to
the editor

Here is how to write a letter to an editor:

- Typewrite the communication on an 8½" by 11" standard sheet of paper. Double space and leave wide margins.
- Keep the length of the letter down so that as a general rule it does not exceed 2/3 of the double spaced typescript.
- Deal with a single timely subject accurately, concisely, and without preaching.

- Incorporate the qualities of unity, coherence, forcefulness, and current interest.
- Write on a subject with conviction rooted in the personal structure of your own authentic idea.
- Sign your name. As the letter's author you have a public obligation to assume responsibility.
- Send the letter to only one newspaper.

PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

1. Plan a political conversation with a neighbor:

Subject:.....

Person:.....

Time:.....Place:.....

My line of argument:.....

.....

His probable line of argument:.....

.....

My objective:.....

Plan put into action:.....

.....

2. Plan a political conversation with a public official:

What I want to tell him:.....

What action I want taken:.....

My reasons:

The necessity for such action:.....

The wisdom of such action:.....

Conversation held:.....

3. Write a letter to your senator:

His exact name and address:.....
What I want to tell him:.....
What action I want taken:.....
The necessity for such action:.....
The wisdom of such action:.....
Letter written:.....

4. Write a letter to the editor:

Specific name of the letters-to-the-editor column in my news-
paper:.....

Directed to:.....

Outline of my position on the basis of which I will draft my
concise comment:.....

.....

Draft of the letter:.....

.....

.....

Read the letter to intimate friends to obtain their reaction
and criticism:.....

Final typing:.....

Mailed:.....

Published:.....

Pasted in my issue book:.....

WHERE AND WHOM TO WRITE IN POLITICS

Information reference books to have at your elbow:

United States Government Organization Manual.

Official handbook published annually. Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. \$1.50.

Congressional Directory.

Issued for each session of the United States Congress. Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D. C. \$2.00.

The Book of the States.

Issued biennially with supplements. Council of State Governments, 1313 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois. \$10.00.

State, County, City, and Local Officers

To verify these officers, ask the public library or the office of the county or city clerk. Most units of government issue current lists. Some newspapers are beginning to print the names and addresses on the editorial page.

Everyman's United Nations.

Official handbook. International Document Service, Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, New York. \$3.50.

Sources of Business Information.

Edwin I. Conman, Jr. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey. \$6.00.

Government Statistics for Business Use.

Philip N. Hauser and William R. Leonard. John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 440 4th Avenue, New York 16, New York. \$8.50.

Civic Education in the United States: A Directory of Organizations.

Compiled by Robert Horwitz and Carl Tjerandsen. The University of Chicago Press, University College, 19 South LaSalle Street, Chicago 3, Illinois. \$3.00.

Your local bookseller as your working partner will get these volumes for you, or you may order them from the publishers.

4

The active citizen belongs to organizations that take stands on issues

Down deep inside, the active citizen wants to feel that he counts! Hence his real question becomes: What can I do that matters? When you answer that question for yourself, you are maturing as an active citizen. You step forward and take your influential part in making public decisions.

*Linkages
with life*

The social world in which all of us live exists in communication and relationships. We share ideas *and* we belong. The right to share ideas and the right to belong stand as elemental political freedoms. They are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States of America. These two rights—to communicate and to belong—are hard-won achievements in history. The Constitution says:

Congress shall make no law . . . abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

Linkages with life, H. A. Overstreet calls these connections which make it possible for us to count by communicating and belonging. We count because we shape public opinion, because we direct it toward decision-making persons and bodies, and because we have convictions about what is best for the government to do.

*Relevant
questions*

In order to count, you as an active citizen must be in a position to ask relevant questions. You must know what to ask, whom to ask, when to ask, and how to make use of the answer. Given the size and complexity of modern gov-

ernment, your asking questions, getting answers, and mobilizing opinion at points where decisions are being made is a performance done best by individuals combined in groups of common interest and concern.

*Types of
groups*

Let's make a little inventory of the kinds of groups which can help you to be influential in decision making. Your groups bring the combined influence of members to bear upon public officers so that they will act upon an issue. That is how you get results. These groups fall into three classes:

- *Political parties*: which deal with candidates and issues
- *Educational action groups*: which have a permanent but specific area of interest
- *Specific purpose (ad hoc) groups*: which form to support an issue and/or candidate and then dissolve.

To count, you as a citizen must belong!






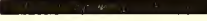
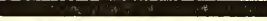

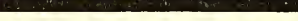
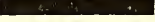

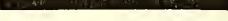
*Political
party
groups*

Actually you as a citizen do not join a political party as such. You register as a Democrat or a Republican or in the party of your choice. That's your legal voting status. However to count, you may join a group which shares the philosophy of your party, which works for its principles, and which seeks to elect its candidates to office. Let's inspect a few of these groups.

*Age
groups*

The groups which are attached to political parties organize on a number of different bases such as age, sex, and location. Let's begin with college. On most college campuses there are student Democratic and Republican organizations. For college students that is the beginning place. All you have to do is watch for notices of the meetings, go, pay dues, and *work*.

Then there are the Young Democrats and the Young Republicans. Any citizen can belong to the youth organi-

AGE GROUP	YEAR	POPULATION IN MILLIONS		PERCENT INCREASE OVER 1960
<u>20-29</u>				
	<u>1960</u>		<u>22.2</u>	
	<u>1970</u>		<u>30.9</u>	<u>39.2</u>
	<u>1980</u>		<u>41.4</u>	<u>86.5</u>
<u>30-39</u>				
	<u>1960</u>		<u>24.3</u>	
	<u>1970</u>		<u>22.4</u>	<u>- 7.8</u>
	<u>1980</u>		<u>31.4</u>	<u>29.2</u>
<u>40-59</u>				
	<u>1960</u>		<u>40.8</u>	
	<u>1970</u>		<u>45.5</u>	<u>11.5</u>
	<u>1980</u>		<u>45.5</u>	<u>11.5</u>
<u>60 and OVER</u>				
	<u>1960</u>		<u>23.1</u>	
	<u>1970</u>		<u>28.3</u>	<u>22.5</u>
	<u>1980</u>		<u>34.4</u>	<u>48.9</u>

zation of his party, but the voting age generally is from eighteen to forty. In these clubs you meet other alert young men and women. Members are mutually stimulating. You are interesting to one another because you are interested in ideas in motion in the world in which you live.

Senior citizens have become politically so important that they require treatment in a separate section.

*Women's
groups*

Women play a powerful role in American politics. Both the Democratic National Committee and the Republican National Committee have women assistant or vice chairmen as second in command of the organization. Democratic and Republican women's clubs are organized in all the fifty states, in counties, and in many cities and communities. All a woman of any age has to do is watch the meeting announcements and join.

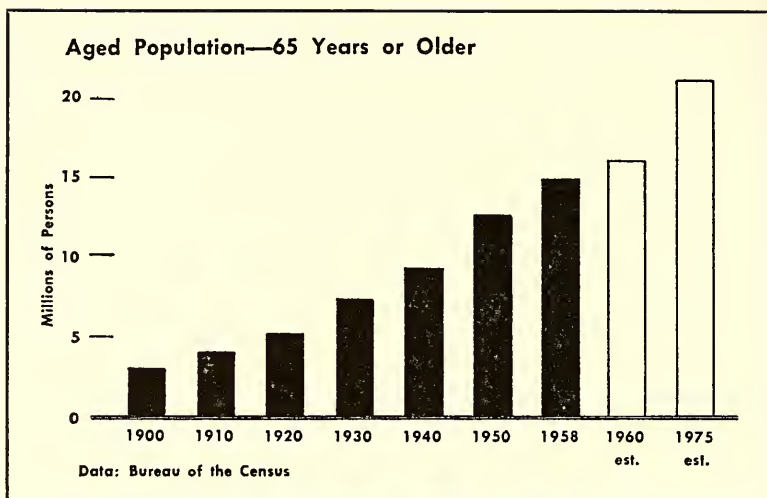
*Party
clubs*

Then too there are often Democratic and Republican clubs. Sometimes these are for men only, sometimes they are open to both men and women. These clubs supplement the work of the political parties to which they are attached with varying degrees of official connection. Ever since Tammany Hall made its ward clubs into social centers of political activity, neighborhood groups have provided the opportunity for active citizens to associate "socially and politically."

Taken as a whole, the political party clubs provide an opportunity for acquaintance, discussions, recreation, and sociability. As a matter of fact, many a successful marriage has resulted from the associations of men and women at work politically.

*Senior
citizens'
clubs*

As a national program, political parties encourage clubs for senior citizens. They know how decisive their votes are coming to be. In 1960 one out of five eligible voters was sixty or older. By 1970 senior citizen voters will constitute one out of four. By 1980 nine million Americans will be over seventy-five. One in every four of those now sixty-five will live to the age of eighty-five or beyond. Senior citizens possess political potency. A look at the chart projecting the voting power of citizens sixty-five and over will convince any politician.



Old Age Gets Into Politics.

Reproduced by special permission from *Business Week* (Feb. 13, 1960).

The senior citizen has both time and perspective to be one of the most thoughtful and useful of all citizens. You as a senior citizen will find in the senior citizens clubs of your party alert, congenial, and informed associates. Moreover, you will enjoy the social contacts in the group.

*Official
party
committees*

Out of reliable performance in party clubs individuals emerge who are prepared to serve as street leaders in precincts, as precinct committeemen and committeewomen, as members of the county executive committees of the respective parties, and on state and national party committees. The local club is the training ground. Most of all, however, you as an active citizen have your place in a group. You know that you belong. Because you belong you are a part of an instrumentality through which political work is performed. The political party provides a vehicle for your comprehensive citizenship. The two-party system creates a rivalry over issues and candidates. Party activities give citizens an opportunity to choose at the polls. And the vote at the polls records decisions in politics.

The nation has many kinds of action groups permanently concerned with political issues. The various groups study the candidates and their records, and report on their positions on the issues in which the groups are interested.

Some nonpartisan groups impartially present the views of all candidates and as groups endorse none. Their effort is that of this book—to make it possible for you as an active citizen to make your influence count in local and national politics. Perhaps the best known of these nonpartisan groups is the League of Women Voters of the United States. The League operates mainly through its local units in the counties and cities. This is one of the groups in which you as an active woman citizen can do your share to educate your community in the issues vital to its welfare.

Other action groups are intensely partisan. They endorse the candidates of either party who they believe will support their group interests, and they strongly support the candidates whom they endorse. Such a group is COPE, the Committee on Political Education of the American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations. Almost every denomination has a church action group. The Committee for Economic Development (CED), the National Association of Manufacturers, the American Farm Bureau Federation, the American Medical Association, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, various voters' leagues—all over the nation organizations have sections especially designed to deal with political issues and candidates. It is in such a group that you as an active citizen can do your share to support the positions in which you are interested.

Alone you as an active citizen are just one American. In the company of others as a member of a politically purposeful group you multiply your strength and direct your energies most effectively to your political objectives.

PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

1. Being registered as a _____, I propose to attend the next meeting of _____ on _____ at _____ o'clock to at the following address: _____
2. Because I am seriously interested in the special achievement of _____ by political action, I propose to join the _____ which meets on _____ at _____ o'clock be held at the following address: _____

For information on how to join the political organization of your choice, write to:

Democratic National Committee

1001 Connecticut Avenue Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Republican National Committee

1625 Eye Street Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Chamber of Commerce of the United States

1615 H Street Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO

815 16th Street Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

League of Women Voters of the United States

1026 17th Street Northwest
Washington 6, D. C.

Local Units

While the national organizations will refer you to the proper persons in your neighborhood, you can generally initiate the contact at the local level. Look up the party or organization in which you are interested in the telephone book. Call your city clerk for information. Ask the public library. Inquire at the editorial room of your newspaper.

5

The active citizen contributes to a political party or candidate

“Money,” according to Aesop’s Fables, “makes the pot boil.” George Bernard Shaw in a moment of realism declared that “lack of money is the root of all evil.” Candidates who run for office know only too well how true these statements are. *Politics costs somebody money*. The question is simply this: *Who* pays the money? If funds come from the few, does democracy become plutocracy? Must money come from the many to ensure honest government “of the people, by the people, and for the people”?

In 1960 the Democratic party of Florida nominated its candidate for the office of state governor. Although in 1952 and 1956 the state voted for the Republican presidential candidate, it still is in state politics predominantly Democratic, and the Democratic primary is in effect the decisive state election. In the first primary ten men sought the party nomination. No candidate received a majority of the votes cast, and in a second primary, held three weeks later, the two top men opposed each other. The winning candidate reported to the secretary of state, as required by state law, total campaign contributions of \$836,118.66. Each of the 706,264 votes cast in the two primaries for this candidate represented contributions to him of \$1.18; each of the 512,757 votes cast for him in the second primary represented \$1.63; each of the 96,705 votes by which he won the second primary represented \$8.87! The ten original candidates reported total contributions of \$2,286,463.14. Thus, each of the 1,865,876

*Magnitude
of political
costs*

votes cast for governor in the two primaries cost somebody \$1.23; each of the 928,809 votes cast in the second and decisive primary cost \$2.46. And the costs of running against nominal Republican opposition in the general election were still to come! Who paid?

The United States chooses more than half a million public officers in federal, state, and local elections. In a presidential year the total campaign costs may exceed a quarter of a billion dollars. In Florida the "reported cost" of electing a governor every four years runs into the millions. To elect a mayor in Tampa, contributors in 1959 gave nearly \$250,000 to influence some 99,000 registered voters. In Orange County, Florida, the total reported expenditures of eleven candidates for the board of county commissioners in 1958 amounted to \$24,760. The average expenditure per candidate elected was \$4,486. A five-minute telecast in prime time may cost for time alone a dollar for each 400 potential viewers. In a city of 20,000 population the cost of mailing just one first-class letter to each of the 6,000 registered voters in a municipal election—just the cost of the stamp, paper, and envelope, without clerical and typewriting expenses—amounts to something like \$400.

Yes, politics costs money. When a citizen runs for office, he must add to the fear that he may be beaten the worry about where the money is coming from and what strings may be attached to the contributions by the donors.

*The
"interests"*

The usual answer as to where money comes from is "the interests"—the wealthy few, the fat corporations, the underworld. COPE spreads the news, in a brochure entitled *Bu\$ine\$\$, Politic\$, and You*, that in the presidential campaign of 1956 twelve families contributed more money (\$1,153,735) to politics than the entire sixteen million members of the AFL-CIO (\$559,000). Of this sum the Du Ponts, the Fields, the Fords, the Harrimans, the Leh-

mans, the Mellons, the Olins, the Pews, the Rockefellers, the Vanderbilts, and the Whitneys gave \$1,010,526 to just one political party—the Republicans.

COPE likes to talk about the formula for political victory described to the National Association of Manufacturers' convention by Hull Youngblood, Sr., president of the Southern Steel Company in San Antonio, Texas. Over a ten-year period the group headed by Youngblood managed the election of twenty-six of thirty conservative candidates to the Texas legislature. Youngblood explained that the Texas group *first* carefully selects candidates with business experience and conservative views; *second* raises the full cost of their campaigns; *third* hires a professional campaign manager, publicity man, speech writer, and advertising agency; and *fourth* proceeds to get the candidates elected.

AFL-CIO President George Meany says:

The more business gets in with its financial resources the greater interest will be stirred up among workers. (Perhaps it will help us eventually to succeed in our efforts to encourage all workers to perform their duty as citizens by exercising their right to vote.)

And when we get down to such a contest between workers and big business we will do all right because there happens to be a few more of us than there are of them.

*The
"unions"*

In 1956 COPE collected from members in total over a million dollars in \$1 contributions to support its political education campaign. A Detroit study shows that union dues are used indirectly to win elections for integrated slates of state and federal candidates. Union members serve as poll watchers, canvassers to get out the vote, driv-

ers of trucks engaged in political work, distributors of literature, and in other capacities. From dues the union reimburses such members for time lost on the basis of their regular wages. It also provides expense money.

In 1956 COPE published the record to show how each member of Congress voted on twenty issues over a period of ten years. The cost of publishing the record was \$43,-231.77. The money came from union dues paid for the use of the AFL-CIO educational fund.

Back in 1957 Local 477, International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, proposed not just a "Give-a-Buck" but a "Buck-of-the-Month-Club." In 1959 the local members contributed an equivalent of \$4 per person to COPE's fund-raising drive. With the COPE trade unions, more and more the sum of \$12 a year is becoming a standard of regular political giving.

*Reuther's
proposal*

United Auto Workers President Walter Reuther wants a ceiling put on contributions. How much? Well, he proposes \$5 a person per year to any one candidate for President, for the Senate, and for the House, plus an additional \$5 a person per year to any one party or political committee. In a presidential year total contributions by any one person could not exceed \$20, in a congressional year, \$15.

*The Ford
Program*

In 1960 the Ford Motor Company invited its 152,000 employees in the United States to contribute to the political party of their choice. The object was to broaden the financial base of participation in politics.

The Ford administration sent to each employee a letter of explanation, a contribution card, an inside envelope, and an outer envelope so that the contribution might be made in secrecy as to party choice. Collection boxes were placed in Ford offices and plants throughout the nation. Employees were invited to make checks payable to the Democratic or Republican state committees. In a letter to em-

ployees Ford pointed out: "Under our free system of government, participation should be truly representative."

How to pay for politics is one of America's most urgent problems. Corruption in government hovers as an ever-present threat. Cuba, America's neighbor in agony, provides a sad example of the outcome of sustained gifts!

But what to do? The late Senator Richard L. Neuberger of Oregon recommended outright federal subsidies. By providing minimum governmental financial support for all legitimate campaigns he would have made it unnecessary for a candidate to rely on private gifts.

The public relations firm of Whitaker & Baxter, San Francisco, which has managed nearly a hundred political campaigns, believes that the effective control over campaign costs is "publicity." What is needed, Mr. Clem Whitaker told a Senate committee, is "clear, forthright, honest reporting of receipts and expenditures. This I would enforce to the hilt. If anyone spends too much, it will backfire."

The Johnson-Knowland Bill, 84th Congress (S.B. 3308), proposed a tax deduction of \$100 on political contributions. A survey of opinions of sixteen selected political scientists showed them unanimous in favoring tax deduction or credit for political contributions. A group of political scientists from the University of Michigan explained: "A contribution to a political party is in the public interest and should therefore be deductible like any other similar contribution to charitable and eleemosynary institutions."

How is politics supported? How should it be supported? Philip L. Graham, publisher of the *Washington Post*, says that the base of political giving must be broadened. Mass giving, he feels, will encourage integrity in politics and improve the quality of public officials. Graham asked American business through the Advertising Council to pro-

vide \$10,000,000 of free advertising to support a nationwide mass political fund-giving campaign. Such a program would lessen the reliance of candidates on the few to whom they seem too often to be beholden. "Only everybody can outweigh the special-interest somebodies" runs the theme. Graham attempted to form a high-level bipartisan prestige committee to lead the crusade. Prestige leaders failed to respond to the draft of service. Some were too busy; others too skeptical about the whole idea. Finally the idea of forming a high-level committee collapsed.

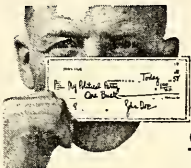
Alexandria, Minnesota, a city of 6,300 people, attempted in 1957 a bipartisan political-fund-raising experiment. A house-to-house canvass, soliciting contributions for campaign funds, produced money for apportionment among political parties and groups. Both major political parties in Minnesota supported the test. So too did the *Park Region Echo*, the local newspaper. Some sixty volunteer solicitors visited 1,000 families. They obtained contributions from 76 per cent of the families, ranging from 8 cents to \$100 per contribution.

Alexandria never repeated the test! The Minnesota Republican finance chairman voiced strenuous opposition. The resultant dispute almost split the Republican party. For the sake of community harmony the idea was never again broached! Probably the most significant result of the Alexandria experiment was its demonstration of the extremely low percentage of people who were willing to earmark their contributions for one party or the other. The number of people who were willing to contribute to "clean up" politics and save candidates from selling their political souls for campaign money was overwhelming!

*Give-A-
Buck
campaign*

The mass-political-giving program, which Graham supported, had by 1958 received the sponsorship of the American Heritage Foundation and the backing of a massive

advertising campaign operated through the Advertising Council. Mass communication impressed this slogan on the nation:



WANT TO KEEP POLITICS CLEAN?

DON'T PASS THE BUCK—

GIVE A BUCK TO THE PARTY OF YOUR CHOICE!

The advertising campaign was followed up by house-to-house solicitations made by precinct workers of both parties. Thus 1958 marks a year in political history: *For the first time in American history both political parties, aided by national public service advertising strategy, made serious effort to urge the average person to give money as well as to vote.* A program to offset “big money” had been initiated—a program designed to offset large gifts with a multitude of small contributors, “millions and millions” of men and women, as the publicity hopefully declared, to put up a dollar apiece. The dream was nobler than the public response.

The Democratic National Committee back in 1956 had already initiated a “Dollars for Democrats” drive as an annual affair. Each year experience has led to a strengthening of the program. Democratic party organizations on the local level use a substantial part of the funds raised. In addition to these locally used funds, a total \$86,000 was remitted in 1958 to the Democratic National Committee from the forty-nine states and territories which participated in the “Dollars for Democrats” drive.

COPE The trade unions are effective in developing dollar contributions. COPE leaders like to quote the old English proverb that “many small make a great.” The annual COPE

dollar drive is a systematic effort to provide the opportunity for every union member to participate in his union's political action program. "Don't keep griping about government, taxes, the high cost of living, and bad laws," says a COPE representative to his union brother. "Here's your chance to do something about it: Give your buck to COPE!"

*Experience
of
community
organizations*

While political parties proceed with their program to broaden the base of fund raising, other groups are producing gigantic results. In some 2,000 communities, 16,000,000 individual volunteers solicit money for the United Fund and Community Chest drive. The 1959 March of Dimes produced \$31,000,000. More than 2,000,000 volunteers, working under the direction of 3,100 county chapters, joined in the appeal, taking contributions from some 70,000,000 Americans. Individual contributions averaged 45 cents. Can such habits of mass giving be developed for the support of clean politics? Probably less than 2 per cent of American citizens contribute to the support of political parties and campaigns.

*Experience
of religious
giving*

In church fund raising it has been demonstrated that people are incapable of equal giving. Hence the Give-a-Buck plan may be unrealistic, as any large church campaign would suggest. For example, among churchgoers this pattern tends to emerge:

<i>Per Cent of Contributors</i>		<i>Per Cent of Total Sum Given</i>
5	<i>give</i>	25
10	<i>give</i>	25
20	<i>give</i>	25
65	<i>give</i>	25
<hr/>		<hr/>
100		100

For generations intensive parish solicitations and weekly envelopes have developed the habit of giving among church

people. Probably political giving will never become an *either-or* proposition, that is, big giving versus mass giving. By the nature of the distribution of wealth and the will to give, there will always be need for proportionate giving according to ability.

Meanwhile you as an active citizen need to bear in mind two things:

- To understand your candidate you ought to know *who gives to whom how much*. That is a necessary datum of public information. When you know, you can begin to block out the patterns of influence that back a candidate.
- To discharge your responsibilities you need to determine before the judgment of your own conscience how much you ought to and will actually give to support politics.

*The
ultimate
personal
decision*

However much others may give, you must make an ultimate personal decision. Your soul-searching problem is this: "How much ought I to give?" You should know how much you are going to give before you are ever solicited. Just as a tithe is a standard of giving for church people, so you need voluntarily to set a percentage of your income as your political budget.

Take your pencil and answer these two decisive questions:

- How much am I able and will I budget and give?
Weekly \$_____ Monthly \$_____
Quarterly \$_____ Semiannually \$_____
Annually \$_____
- To whom shall I pay the money where it will produce the optimum result?

When you have made up your mind on these two questions, you have taken a long step to make American politics responsible to you and to active citizens like you.

PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

My income is \$..... Believing that politics is as much an obligation as the church, I propose to give in total during the year \$.....

After careful consideration of the most effective political channels, I propose to divide my political money as follows:

.....
.....
.....

keeping, however, \$..... in reserve to use for the support of particular candidates and issues.



6

The active citizen works for a political party and candidate

Webster defines the verb "work" generally to mean effort put forth in doing something. In mechanics "work" means the measurable transfer of force from one body to another. In politics "work" means the process of information and persuasion by which one citizen influences other citizens to make decisions which are recorded on the secret ballot in the precinct voting machine.

Efficient political work requires the competent skill of the craftsman and the motivation of a missionary to use that skill to influence public decisions. You must "know how to do" and you must be motivated by a durable inner purpose for the general good. The final answer to the question raised by Plato as to the means by which public leadership can be placed in the hands of those best qualified to administer public affairs is intelligent, hard, *political* work!

*Having a
"concern"*

The Quakers have a phrase which describes inner driving force. They say that a man has "a concern." By that they mean a responsibility to be discharged by practical work. You as an active citizen become aware of such a "concern"; it becomes the driving force which puts you to work. Such political work requires effort in a number of different ways.

*Keeping
informed*

When you as a citizen actually become aware of your "concern," you find that news has a fuller meaning in its relationships. You become perceptive in your insight. Facts begin to add up to new meanings for you. By reading, listening, thinking, studying, visiting, you become informed

about politics. You are more interesting as a person to yourself and to others.

*Self-
responsibility
for your
neighbors*

Because the precinct where people vote as the ultimate act in a democracy is a cluster of neighborhoods, you as an active citizen assume a role of responsibility for a group of homes on your street—perhaps for an optimum number of twenty homes. You come to know the people who live in those houses, where they work, what they do for recreation, when they have birthdays, and to what political parties they belong. Who assigns you these families as your responsibility? No one. It is your own personal obligation. You become by virtue of your own contagious political concern and information a political leader in your neighborhood.

*Registering
neighbors*

Before a citizen can vote he must register. As an active citizen one of your responsibilities is the neighborly courtesy of helping your people register. You tell them how long they must reside in the state, the county, and the precinct. When a son or daughter has an eighteenth or twenty-first birthday (as the state law may provide), you honor the occasion by helping him or her register. To perform this neighborly duty you must have facts at hand:

- the conditions of registration required by law;
- the location of the registration office;
- the periods designated by law for registration and the hours during which the registration office is open;
- the name of the registrar;
- a personal overview to show how simple it is to register.

*Information
events*

You also need to take the initiative to arrange for occasional neighborhood events of general political interest. These need not be related to elections. For example, a housewife may hold a morning coffee after the children

have gone to school. She may arrange an afternoon tea. Or again, a family may give a garden party or plan a discussion evening. At these events a public officer can be invited to tell about his work—what he does, why he does it, and what public purpose his efforts achieve. The description of the operation of any phase of governmental activity communicates information which is vivid, revealing, and essential to understanding the community.

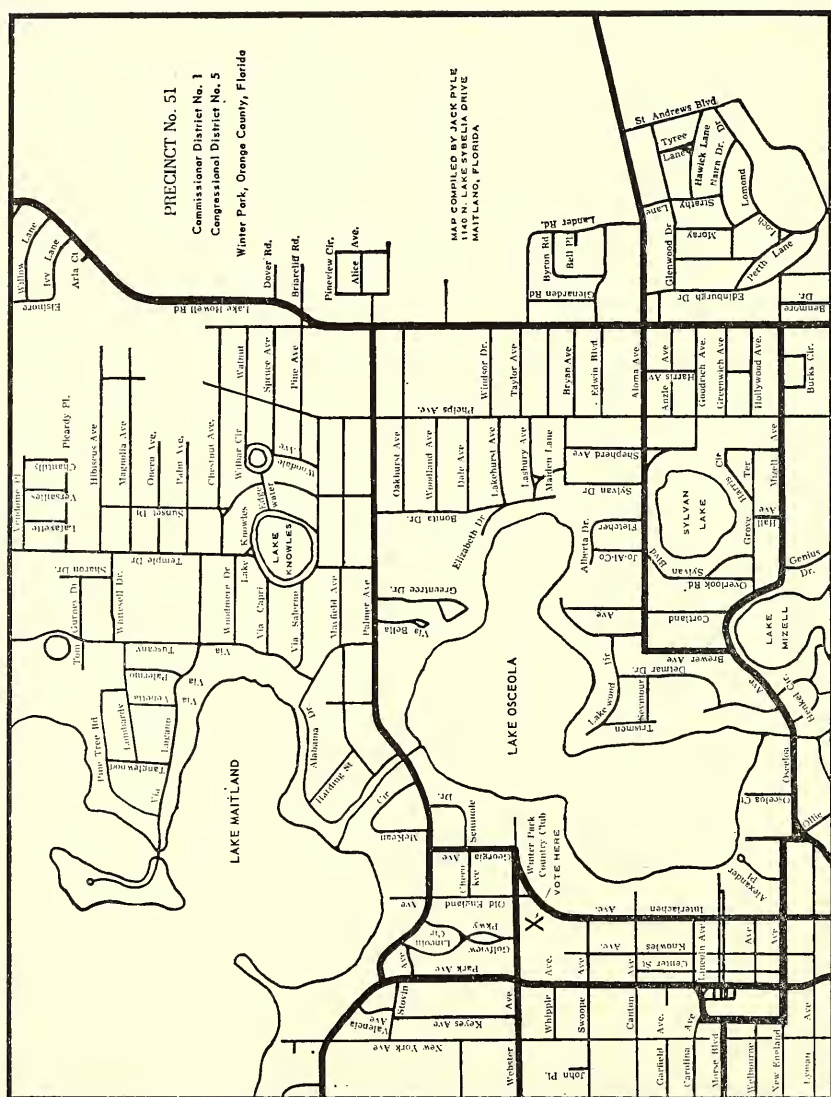
*Understanding
the precinct*

The precinct is the geographical unit of the county in which citizens vote. Every voting citizen is registered as a voter in a precinct, yet as a rule voters know little about their precinct. Hence you as an active citizen perform a basic service to your neighbors when you point out to them on a city map the boundaries of their precinct. Moreover, you can provide statistical fact about the precinct to give political flesh and blood to your neighborhood.

*Mastering
the
political
calendar*

For the active citizen the political calendar indicates the periods of major importance during the year. In direct primary states—and of course you must be able to tell your neighbors about your own state—the chief dates to know are these:

- *Filing date:* The days and hours between which a candidate must present his petition.
- *Primary:* The day on which qualified candidates run in party elections to determine who the party candidate will be in the general election.
- *Second primary:* The day, in southern states, on which candidates surviving the first primary compete to determine who is to be the party candidate in the general election.
- *General election:* The day on which voters choose their public officers from the list of competing candidates, who usually run under political party labels.



A precinct map shows the neighborhood which votes at a common voting place.

PRECINCT 51 REGISTERED VOTERS

Party	White	Colored	Total
DEMOCRAT			
REPUBLICAN			
OTHER			
Total			

PRECINCT 51 OFFICERS -

. PARTY

Office	Name	Address	Telephone
COMMITTEEMAN			
COMMITTEEMAN			
COMMITTEEWOMAN			
COMMITTEEWOMAN			

VOTING SCORECARD

Candidate		1st Primary	2nd Primary	Election
Federal				
	Total Precinct 51 Vote			
State				
	Total Precinct 51 Vote			
County				
	Total Precinct 51 Vote			
District				
	Total Precinct 51 Vote			
Party				
	Total Precinct 51 Vote			

COPYRIGHT 1958 CENTER FOR PRACTICAL POLITICS
ROLLINS COLLEGE, WINTER PARK, FLORIDA
FOR INFORMATION TELEPHONE MIDWAY 4-2703

MAP COMPILED BY JACK PYLE

The reverse side of precinct map provides space to record information.

The political calendar provides the schedule on which you as an active citizen think and work.

The political calendar schedules work to be done for one final purpose: to elect honest and competent men to public office. But what men? And how are the candidates selected? And how do you as an active citizen make your influence count in the process? The selection of candidates is a key process in democracy about which far too little is known. Even the Constitution of the United States is silent on the machinery by which a candidate for President is chosen. It is important to spend a little time thinking about how nominations are made.

From the neighborhood to the nation some *few* as leaders separate themselves from the *many*; the few run for office, the many vote for them. Out of 100,000,000 voters in fifty states the choice for President narrows down to two major candidates. Today the machinery for choosing candidates and going through the legal process of getting names on ballots operates either through a direct primary, a convention, or a combination of the two. But fully to appreciate the selection process, you as an active citizen must understand the caucus in its different shades of meaning and as it operates on different levels of government.

Actually "caucus" is a broad name used to describe a sociological phenomenon which gives direction to collective action. From the family huddle over the question of where to go on a picnic up to a national political convention, a small inner circle makes certain decisions by frank and confidential exploration of alternatives in the search for the most desirable action for the whole group. That small inner circle is a caucus. Throughout political history intimate groups pursuing a common purpose to be extended to larger groups have been holding caucuses.

Early in the nation's history presidential candidates

were selected by the congressional caucus—party members actually sitting in Congress—and other candidates were selected by similar caucuses at the various levels. It was this system which Andrew Jackson, castigating the “autocrats” who selected presidential candidates, branded “King Caucus.” Sixty years earlier than Jackson’s unhappiness, Samuel Adams wrote this entry in his diary:

This day learned that the Caucus Club meets at certain times in the garret of Tom Dawes. . . . He has a large house . . . and the whole club meets in one room. There they smoke tobacco till you cannot see from one end of the garret to the other. There they drink flip I suppose and they choose a moderator who puts the questions to the vote regularly; and selectmen, assessors, collectors, firewards, and representatives are regularly chosen before they are chosen in town.

Who was Tom Dawes in that smoke-filled room? He was a self-appointed citizen acting to choose men to run for office. He might be you. The caucus, by whatever name it may be called, is the small, informal, face-to-face secret gathering in any community and at every political level acting to pick a candidate who has the best chance of getting elected, granted that he possesses the quality the small group wants. Even behind the carnival-like hysteria of a shouting, sign-parading, bargaining national party convention there sits in inner rooms a handful of leaders planning how things can be worked out for “their man.” In this sense “King Caucus” will never be dethroned as Andrew Jackson urged. “King Caucus” is a permanent part of the sociology of politics by which in one way or another some half-million public officers ultimately emerge at all levels of government.

Take a simple case history as an example. Increasingly local elections are nonpartisan. One night in September fourteen men met in the living room of one of them to talk about the goals they would like to see their city achieve *and* to determine which fellow citizen would provide the necessary leadership as mayor. The fourteen men agreed on "their man." He was nominated in the primary. He was elected mayor in the general election with the highest percentage of citizens voting in the history of the municipality. Of course, after the candidate had been informally and unofficially picked in the neighborhood meeting, the nomination had to be perfected according to law by the circulating of a petition.

Social psychologists have found that throughout history a group ranging in size from twelve to fourteen has provided an optimum unit for productivity. Such a group is large enough to give different points of view and small enough to encourage participation. But the political caucus may be smaller or larger than this optimum group.

In another city a bank president, a utility executive, a contractor, and a lawyer met in a bar to pick a candidate who would best "take care of their interests" as the next mayor. These four men were caucusing! A Parent-Teachers Association produced a novel caucus idea. The members were concerned about who was going to be elected a school trustee. First they made for themselves a job description to make clear exactly what duties a school trustee performed. Then they invited to attend their next meeting all the persons who were rumored to be thinking of running for the office. With their job descriptions in hand, the PTA members asked each candidate to tell them about the duties of a school trustee, how his qualifications specially equipped him to perform those duties, and why he was in his opinion better fitted than the other candidates to hold the office.

They discovered that only one of the candidates had a really clear idea of the work the office required. You see, these two meetings were another kind of caucus. They identified the competent man.

*The
convention*

During the first part of the nineteenth century some Americans began to oppose the formal political caucus as being undemocratic, autocratic, and arbitrary, thus providing government neither of, by, nor for the people. In 1804 Jeffersonian Republicans in New Jersey and Delaware decided to hold what came to be known as the first delegate convention. Twenty years later the first state nominating convention met in Utica and chose candidates for the offices of governor and lieutenant governor of New York. As an assembly of party delegates meeting to agree upon party policy and to select party candidates, the nominating convention came to be a part of American political life and was soon regulated by state laws. In 1831 a presidential candidate was nominated by a national party convention.

*The
direct
primary*

The party nominating convention too began to fall into disfavor, and the next development was the selection of party candidates for public office under provisions of state law in direct primaries. As Theodore Roosevelt said: "The right of popular government is incomplete, unless it includes the right of the voters not merely to choose between candidates when they have been nominated but also the right to determine who these candidates shall be." The direct primary is designed to give you as a party member a chance to vote in a secret election on who shall be your party's candidate.

As early as 1842 the Democratic party in a Pennsylvania county first used the direct primary. Twenty-eight years later the Republican party in the same county substituted the primary for the nominating convention. For more than sixty years "Old Guard" politicians, fighting to save the

convention, tussled with the reformers. In 1903 Governor Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin succeeded in having the first legislation enacted to make the statewide primary mandatory. By 1910 fifteen other states, ranging geographically from New Hampshire to California, had adopted direct primary laws. Connecticut did not provide for the primary until 1955.

Direct primary laws vary from state to state. In some states the primary is optional, depending on the office and its geographical jurisdiction. In at least five states the process has been modified to allow pre-primary designation of candidates either by conventions or by party committees. Connecticut law provides for a primary by challenge. Town committees, caucuses, and conventions designate the candidates for all elective offices, and no primary is held unless the designated candidates are challenged. The challenge is made by filing a petition signed by a statutory number of party members and depositing a sum equal to 15 per cent of the annual salary of the office in question. Then a primary must be held. Since 1954 the Democratic party in California has held unofficial conventions to endorse candidates for statewide offices.

*The
petition*

In England the nomination process is simple. To become a candidate a citizen merely gives his name, address, and business to a "returning officer." This statement of intention is supported by the signatures of a proposer, a seconder, and eight assenters—ten people in all. The procedure emphasizes the importance of endorsement names. One of the central features of the direct primary and the challenge primary in America is the petition—a document asking for a name to be placed on the ballot and signed by a specified number of registered voters. In political work the identification of the right people to support the candidacy by signing the petition is important. As an active citizen you

will be asked to sign such petitions and you will come to take the initiative in circulating them.

Thus much variation exists throughout the nation in the mechanism by which party candidates are selected. You as an active citizen must study and understand the laws of your jurisdiction—your city, your county, your state, and your nation. Your first function as a voter is to see that your party endorses your candidate to meet the opposing party's candidate.

Whether your immediate interest is a primary, a nominating convention, or a general election, you must know the candidates who are offering themselves. As a conscientious active citizen you want to be sure at every moment that you are supporting the best-qualified candidate available, and you cannot have this certainty unless you are familiar with the past record, the stated views, and the leading sponsors of every candidate.

*Inventorying
the
candidates*

As the candidates for various public offices announce and qualify, you develop your own personal file on each of them. You clip newspapers, save platform statements, and gather other information. Your file on each candidate includes:

- photograph
- biographical items
- statement of issues
- outline of the political record and experience of the candidate
- data on the persons who are supporting the candidate
- information published on the amount of money reported for campaign funds and the names of the donors.

Alexander Woollcott once made an eloquent political speech by naming, one after another, the supporters of a

candidate. Then he paused: "That's the company your candidate keeps. If you like them, well, let birds of a feather flock together." It is important to keep a record of who is backing whom.

*Identifying
the issues*

Your issue book takes on even greater proportions during a campaign. Candidates announce the issues they champion. They discuss what they stand for. Other candidates comment and criticize. Out of the discussion the real nature of the issues is forged. You must decide for yourself what is actually at stake. You must decide which issues are vital and which candidate most nearly represents your views on those issues.

*Choosing a
candidate*

You want to be sure that your party presents its best qualified candidate for each public office. You want to be sure that your party's candidate is better qualified for the office he seeks than any opposing candidate. Thus as you become increasingly well informed about the candidates, you select your candidate from the weight of the evidence you have gathered. Because the duty of a candidate for public office is to educate the voters on the authentic issues and to convince them of his superior competence to deal with these problems, you ask these pointed questions:

- *What* are the issues of the campaign as defined by this candidate? Is the candidate talking honestly and with authority on the issues? Are the issues which he stresses really the most important issues? Is he educating me?
- *How* does the candidate explain the requirements of the office and demonstrate his special qualifications for meeting them?
- *Why* would the public be better served during the term of office by the election of this candidate in preference to the others?

As an active citizen you need to write out a “reason why” memorandum to express your final judgment. You write:
“I am for Candidate.....

- because
- because

Supporting
a
candidate

Once you have made your choice, your efforts are pledged. You identify yourself with your candidate. Thus the campaign becomes personal. It is now *your* election. By your commitment you win or lose personally.

From the moment of your choice, you as an active citizen declare your position. You wear a button in public. You put the candidate’s sign in your window. You write letters, telephone friends, and attend rallies. You convene coffees, teas, garden parties, and discussion evenings. You put items in the newspaper to show what voters attended what events, so that the public can see who is for whom. You have supplies on hand—buttons to distribute, leaflets to give out, bumper strips to attach, and sample ballots to circulate.

In the caucus, convention, or primary, political parties take no official sides. There are informal cliques, but every citizen has the obligation to work for the candidate of his choice. If your candidate wins nomination, you keep fighting, talking, and campaigning until the general election polls close. *The campaign is your campaign.* Win or lose, you have the assurance that you have done your utmost to provide public leadership of the best quality.

Once candidates have been selected for the general election, they become the party’s choice. Then the whole party machinery comes to their support. You as an active party member of course join in. Even if your particular candidate did not win nomination, the chances are that your party’s candidate will be closer to your position than will the opposing party’s candidate. You report to your pre-

cinct committeeman or committeewoman that you stand ready to continue the campaign for your party's candidate. You become a member of the bigger team.

Every election has to be won in the precinct. Why? Because that is the only geographical place where citizens can legally vote. Few people take the trouble to do the arithmetic which the mathematics of victory require. Let's take our pencils and do a little homework. Take the state of Florida as an example. The average number of voters in each of the 1,971 precincts in the state's 67 counties is 475. Of this number 84 per cent are Democrats. Let's be generous and assume that 70 per cent of the registered voters will go to the polls or cast absentee ballots. That means that the outcome of the general election will be decided in your precinct by some 333 persons. To carry the precinct for your candidate you will need a minimum of 167 votes. Where will these votes come from? Assume a minimum of 2 voters per household; that means 84 homes. Divide these 84 homes among 10 workers; that means that if each one of your street associates should be responsible for 9 homes, you could carry your precinct!

Assume that you want to carry a primary in the precinct for a Republican. You would be concerned with 16 per cent of the precinct voters, or about 50 voters who would actually go to the polls. The precinct decision would be made by 26 voters, or roughly 13 homes!

The county executive committees of political parties are made up of precinct committeemen and committeewomen. These party officers may be selected by party caucus meetings or by election by the enrolled party voters in the precinct—as state law and custom provide. In either case, no matter what the selection process may be, one of your goals as an active citizen should be to earn a place as a precinct officer on your county committee. Therefore you will need

to identify on your political calendar the date when you can run for precinct office. When the time comes, qualify as a candidate!

Many precinct offices are vacant. Find out whether there is a vacancy in your precinct. If so, seek appointment or election when your conscience lets you feel that you are worthy of the position and that you have earned it by hard political work.

PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

1. I have taken as my personal political obligation the following 20 families on my street.

	Name	Address	Telephone
1.
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7.
8.
9.
10.
11.
12.
13.
14.
15.
16.
17.
18.
19.
20.

2. I have visited each of my 20 families to become acquainted and to determine their political affiliation.
Date begun..... Date completed.....
3. I have developed a file of information on how to register in my county and have seen to it that my 20 families are registered.
Date begun..... Date completed.....
4. I have compiled the following political facts about my precinct and have shared them with my 20 families:
 - precinct map ☐
 - precinct statistics ☐
 - party officers ☐
 - political calendar ☐
5. I have planned an information event in my precinct. I propose to hold a on at o'clock.
Our special guest will be.....
My guest list includes:
.....
.....
.....
.....
6. I am compiling an inventory of the candidates in the election for My file contains
 - a photograph ☐
 - a biography ☐
 - a record summary ☐
 - a supporter list ☐
 - a contributor list ☐
7. I am keeping an issue book on the election. ☐
8. Having carefully considered the candidates and issues, I am for as candidate for the office of
because.....
because.....
because.....
because.....

9. I have written to candidate.....pledging
my support. ☐

I have contacted his local campaign manager and offered
my services. ☐

I have put

- a bumper strip on my car ☐
- a button in my lapel ☐
- a picture in my window ☐
- and am distributing this material to others ☐

The following events have been planned for my candidate
which I shall attend and to which I shall bring my friends.

Date	Event	Place	Time
.....
.....
.....

10. Candidate....., having been nominated in
the primary, I have assured party officials of my support. ☐

11. I have checked with the executive committee of my party in
the county. The post of precinct..... in my
precinct [is] [is not] vacant. To become a committee member
I propose to take the following steps:

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

BOOKS TO HAVE AT YOUR ELBOW ABOUT PRACTICAL POLITICS

Action Course in Practical Politics.

Write to the Chamber of Commerce of the United States of America, 1615 H Street Northwest, Washington 6, D. C. \$18.00. This program provides a sequence of nine lessons with workbooks, study syllabus, leader's manual, and problem assignments.

The Business Man's Guide to Practical Politics.

J. J. Wuerthner. Write to Henry Regnery & Company, 64 East Jackson Boulevard, Chicago 4, Illinois. \$3.75. This guide emphasizes participation by business men.

Guide to Political Action.

Write to the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers of America, 11 East 51st Street, New York 22, New York. 35c. This booklet emphasizes participation by union members.

A Guide to the Study of Public Affairs.

E. E. Schattschneider, Victor Jones, and Stephen K. Bailer. Write to the Dryden Press, Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17, New York. \$2.75. This workbook gives guidelines for the study of political activities.

How to Win.

Write to the Committee on Political Education, AFL-CIO, 815 Sixteenth Street Northwest, Washington 6, D. C. \$3.00. This down-to-earth, comprehensive handbook provides the ABC's of effective political action.

Handbook of Practical Politics.

Paul P. Van Riper. Write to Row, Peterson & Company, 2500 Cranford Avenue, Evanston, Illinois. \$4.00. This lucid and comprehensive nonpartisan guide to local political action shows how you as a citizen can influence voters and win elections.

Address questions to

Center for Practical Politics, Carnegie Hall, Rollins College, Winter Park, Florida.

The Christophers, 18 East 48th Street, New York, New York.

Honest Ballot Association, 27 William Street, New York, New York.

Joint Civic Committee on Elections, 7 South Dearborn Street, Chicago, Illinois.

The active citizen votes

Election Day, U.S.A.! As you stand in the secrecy of the booth, you as a private citizen occupy for the moment the decisive public office. *You vote!* You record your considered political judgment. You choose among candidates. You determine public policies. Voting is the ultimate ritual of democracy. It is the mature act of the free man. The ballot is something more than a piece of political machinery. It is the precious instrumentality by which you are linked to the common life. It is the vehicle of your participation, the means by which you touch all the problems of your times. The ballot gives outreach to your life and fuel to your continuing growth. As a voter you constitute an organ of government alongside the executive, legislative, and judicial branches.

As the *Milwaukee Journal* says:

Columbus and Washington and Lincoln have their days. Labor has its and veterans have theirs. Unlike these, the act being performed on Voters' Day is one not of commemoration but of fulfillment. Each opening of the polls enthrones the voter as king for the day.

For weeks the politicians and the aspirants, from presidential to aldermanic, have held the stage. They have flown and traveled and tramped the airways, highways and byways. They have spoken to and shaken hands with and been seen by everybody they could get near. They have besieged all eyes and ears on radio and television, in billboards and advertising, on baseball schedules and matchcovers.

The prospective voter, benumbed by now, has taken it all patiently and meekly. Now it's his turn. The candidates have retired to the wings and must be silent, and can only cross their fingers and sweat out tonight's tallying. The voter has stepped front and center and is having his say.

He is judging the past weeks' performances and promises and impressions. With his secret X's he is quietly but all powerfully disposing of the hopes and claims and ambitions of all who have appealed to him. He is having the last word, and what he says goes.

So it is deeply meaningful to consider that an election day is in this sense truly voters' day. The power being wielded behind the curtains in the booths today is the ultimate power, the wellspring of all other authority. It is where our form of government begins and must ever return.

And great power is great responsibility.

*Voting
as a
hard-won
privilege of
free men*

The right of access to a voting booth, now routine, historically is a hard-won privilege of free men. As you stand at the poll, you are the heir to ages-long courageous crusading by human beings who have preceded you. Take for instance the apparatus by which you vote. It is known as the Australian ballot. The voting machine merely replaces the pencil and ballot box, not the principle. The Australian ballot incorporates a number of features, such as (1) registration before election; (2) a ballot provided free by the government; (3) specific candidates to vote for; and (4) a secret stall as a secular cloister where you can be alone with your own conscience. Before the adoption of the Australian ballot, open elections bred vices of rioting, violence, bribery, intimidation, and coercion.

In 1851 Francis S. Dutton, a member of the legislature

of South Australia, proposed the system. The Ballot Act of 1872 firmly established the plan in Britain. The living voice (*viva voce*) and the upraised hand for generations had existed as public ways of voting. In England the usual voting process had in time come to be a simple public act. The voter entered the polling place, gave his name to the poll clerk. If he was successful in answering questions as to his qualifications, he declared aloud the name of the candidate of his choice. The clerk checked his tally sheet as citizens thus voted orally and in public view.

Before the adoption of the Australian ballot in Britain, wholesale evils were rampant. Large customers controlled the votes of their tradesmen. Landlords intimidated their tenants and marched detachments of them to the polls to vote in their interests. Employers coerced their workmen. Hired mobs patrolled the streets to frighten away hostile voters and intimidate those who ventured to the polls. During the 1880's the movement for adoption of the Australian ballot began in earnest in the United States. In 1885 the first legislation was introduced in Michigan. The political invention and acceptance of the Australian ballot were historic achievements. You employ the Australian ballot as a matter of routine. Few of us realize what price has been paid for its development.

The development of the apparatus for voting however is one forward step in political history. Winning the right to vote is of even greater importance. Universal suffrage *and* the Australian ballot stand side by side as the foundations of democracy. In the beginning of the United States the underlying idea asserted that a man's property entitled him to vote, not his character, his humanity, or his residence. Thus immediately after the Revolutionary War Virginia, to take an example representative of most states at the time, fixed a property qualification of 50 vacant acres

or 25 cultivated acres and a house 12 feet by 12 feet as a condition of suffrage. The tide of democratic thought and action during the 1820's, 1830's, and 1840's, sweeping away most property qualifications, resulted in the first great extension of popular suffrage.

*Extension
of suffrage*

By amendments to the Constitution the Negro was enfranchised. The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) declared that the right to vote is not to be denied on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude. Fifty years after the Constitution had assured the Negro the right to vote, the privilege was extended to women by the Nineteenth Amendment (1920). By an interpretation of the Constitution the United States Supreme Court some forty-four years later struck down the "white primary" (1944). Election officials in Harris County, Texas, refused to give a ballot to a Negro to vote in the Democratic primary. In the case of *Smith v. Allwright* (321 U.S. 649) the Supreme Court said:

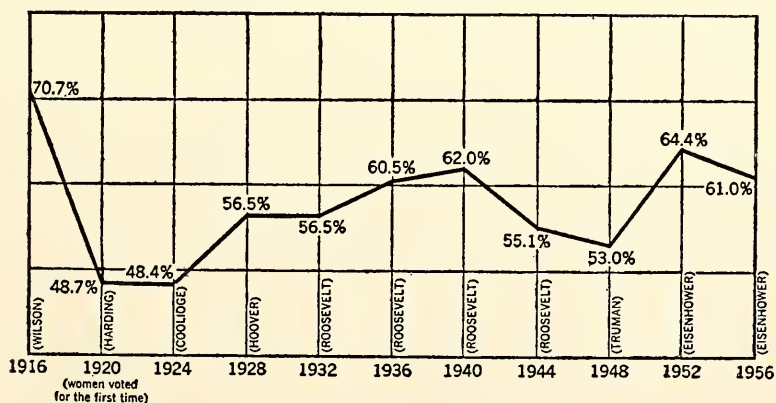
The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any state because of race.

Universal suffrage and the secret ballot are twin foundation stones of free government. Together they affirm the right of the human being to be counted and assure him of the sanctity of his private conscience in voting.

*Why
citizens
don't vote*

Despite the hard-won right of the citizen to vote, many seem unaware of that duty. Americans have never taken kindly to the idea of making voting compulsory. Somehow compulsory voting seems inconsistent with free government. Back in 1835 the Swiss canton of St. Gallen did make voting compulsory; it continues to do so. The community punishes absence from the district assembly elections without sufficient and valid excuse. Many countries,

including the Republic of Cuba, have legislation which compels citizens to vote or take the penalty. In the United States the approach to the problem has been to study why people fail to vote and to motivate them to go to the polls. Interest in elections seems to vary (1) inversely with the proximity of the governmental unit, (2) with whether or not the voting is in a primary or general election, and (3) with the degree of intensity of political controversy. Thus, for example, in a presidential year 43.4 per cent of the voters in Orlando, Florida, went to the polls to choose a mayor; 80.7 per cent voted for president of the United States. Moreover, voters who do go to the polls often fail to vote for all the candidates. In the Orange County, Florida, second primary in 1960, for instance, the record showed that 60 per cent of the registered Democratic voters cast their ballot for governor, while only 39.7 per cent voted for a school board member. In the 1958 national election 54 out of every 100 potential voters went to the polls. The percentage of participation varied among states; Connecticut had the highest, Mississippi the lowest, and New York stood at the middle point.



How Many People Vote in Presidential Elections?

Reprinted from *U.S. News & World Report* (Nov. 9, 1956), an independent weekly news magazine published at Washington. Copyright 1956, United States News Publishing Corporation.

Charles Merriam and Harold Gosnell, University of Chicago political scientists, made pioneer studies (1924) to find out why citizens fail to vote. They classified the reasons broadly under four categories:

- physical difficulties
- legal and administrative obstacles
- inertia
- disbelief in voting.

Here are the reasons given in the pioneer study.

	per cent
General indifference	25.4
Illness	12.1
Absence	11.1
Neglect: intended to vote but failed	8.4
Ignorance or timidity regarding elections	7.1
Disgust with politics or party	6.3
Insufficient legal residence	5.2
Detained by helpless member of family	2.2
Other reasons	22.2

On the importance of feeling that voting is worthwhile

The Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan in 1954 issued a study examining the “sense of political efficacy.” It defined the concept as the feeling that individual political action does have, or can have, an impact upon the political process. Is it worth while to vote? Can an individual citizen help to bring about desired change? The study found that citizens are much more likely to be politically active when they

- think that individual political activity is worth while and actually influences public policy
- see that the private citizen's channels of access to governmental decision-makers are not confined to the ballot box.

Citizens who feel themselves overwhelmed by the political process, on the other hand, are frustrated and impotent.

On the
importance
of a sense
of duty

The University of Michigan research team also studied what it called the "sense of citizen duty." It defined this concept as the feeling that oneself and others *ought to* participate in the political process regardless of whether such political activity is seen as worth while or efficacious. The study established positive relationships: the more strongly a person feels a sense of obligation to discharge his civic duties the more likely he is to be politically active.

The
classical
concept
of the
voter

A free society according to classic political theory assumes that the citizen

- is interested and will participate in politics
- has the capacity for and actually engages in political discussion
- is well informed about political affairs
- casts his vote on the basis of principle with reference to standards not only of his own interest but of the common good as well
- exercises rational judgment in coming to his voting decisions.

A recent study entitled *Voting*, by Bernard Berelson, Paul Lazarsfeld, and William McPhee, finds that "*individual voters* today seem unable to satisfy the requirements for a democratic system of government outlined by political theorists. But the *system of democracy* does meet certain requirements for a going political organization. The individual members may not meet all the standards, but the whole nevertheless survives and grows."

*Symbol
manipulation*

The manipulation of symbols—the creation of political images by the use of mass psychoanalysis, motivational research, and the employment of advertising agencies and professional public relations firms to influence voters and win elections—seems to emphasize the belief that there is a strong illogical and nonlogical element in the behavior of voters, individually and in mass. The massive utilization of costly television as a medium of political communication to the hearthside raises questions about a citizen's sense of political efficacy and duty. You as an active citizen, however, will find yourself caught in no dilemma!

*Habit
and
skill*

The reason why you are clear about your course of action is that you build the habit of voting and master the skills that go with the practice. What are the skills which support the habit? They relate to sources of information, the exercise of political judgment, and the scheduling of the time to vote on the calendar.

*Scheduling
the time
to vote*

You as an active citizen look ahead. You know the exact days when primaries and general elections are going to be held. You plan the hour when you are going to the polls. If by chance you are going to be away, you arrange for an absentee ballot.

*Keeping
the issue
and
candidate
notebooks*

To provide information on which you can base your political judgment, you compile a cumulative notebook on the issues and the candidates. This notebook is discussed in Chapter 2.

*Marking
the
sample
ballot*

Before primaries and elections, election offices issue sample ballots. Newspapers generally print them in whole or part. Obtain a sample ballot! Think through why you are going to vote for each particular candidate or issue. Discuss the ballot with your friends. Ask questions until you are clear. Be prepared to vote on every candidate for every office and on every issue. Your sample ballot is your ultimate worksheet. You have done your homework!

The mathematics of democracy is that politics is won by one. The decisive ballot is yours! In a bitterly contested election for mayor of an important American city, 99,722 citizens were registered to vote. In the nonpartisan municipal primary 68.7 per cent of them went to the polls. Candidates A and B won nomination, but candidate A received 1,357 more votes than candidate B. In the general city election 71 per cent of the registered citizens voted. Candidate B won the election and became mayor of the city by two votes. The decision was made by two neighboring families who had gone out of the city to a banking convention on election day. Although friends, they favored rival candidates. One man and his wife had voted absentee! When the newscaster announced that the mayor had been elected by two votes, the wife who had not voted exclaimed: "The news report says the election was won by two absentee ballots. What is an absentee ballot and who do you suppose cast them? Too bad we didn't vote!"

Palm Beach held an important municipal election to determine whether citizens would approve a badly needed sanitary district. Out of 20,000 registered voters, 3,625 took the trouble to cast their ballots. That means 18.1 per cent. The proposal lost by one vote.

Indeed three presidents of the United States have been elected by a margin of only one vote in the electoral college. They were John Quincy Adams, Thomas Jefferson, and Rutherford B. Hayes. When the election of Hayes was contested, he won a second time by one vote in the House of Representatives. To make the evidence of the power of one vote even more dramatic, it is of interest to note that the man who cast the winning vote for Hayes was a congressman from Indiana who himself had been elected by one vote. That is not all. The man who cast that one vote to elect a congressman who in turn elected

the president of the United States was a man who was so ill that he had to be carried to the polls on a stretcher!

PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

1. Make a political calendar for the year. Include both local, state, and national elections and primaries, Conventions, or caucuses scheduled for the nomination of candidates.

During the year 196....., I must go to the polls on the following dates:

Date	Nature of Election	Hours Polls Open	Time I Vote
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____	_____

Mark these dates on your calendar.

2. Keep a record of the candidates as they come before the public eye.

Calendar record of.....

Candidate for the office of.....

Date

Candidate event

_____	Announces candidacy
_____	First date on which candidate can file
_____	Date candidate actually filed
_____	Last date on which candidate could have filed
_____	Primary election held
	Total votes cast.....
% participation
	Candidate received.....
% received by candidate
_____	Second primary held (in southern states where one party is predominant)
	Total votes cast.....
% participation
	Candidate received.....
% received by candidate
_____	General election held
	Total votes cast.....
% participation
	Candidate received.....
% received by candidate

3. Obtain and mark a sample ballot. Know which candidates you are going to vote for and why!

8

The public office of the private citizen

You as a private citizen hold the most important of all public offices. Your decision expressed by your vote confers political power. How well every candidate who wins his election knows this fact!

*The work
of a
citizen*

To be a carpenter a man must do the work of a carpenter. To be a physician a man must do the work of a physician. Likewise, to be an active citizen you must do the work of a citizen. Chapter by chapter this book has described the operational skills which constitute the equipment of the active citizen. Now the time has come to say that all the skills in the world serve no purpose unless they are used by a person who has public imagination, authentic convictions, and civil courage. A master carpenter outfitted with the finest saws and the most complete tool chest does not build until he has a plan. Likewise, you as a citizen perform no public office until you see your acts related to a pattern of life which you believe important for tomorrow. Your mind and heart must dream ahead. Your decisions must be sustained by civil courage.

Political illiteracy and moral apathy are dangerous twins in a free society. Horace Mann used to say that a human being ought to be ashamed to die until he has won some victory for humanity. Deep conviction brought to political expression gives purpose to your work as an active citizen. *A man must have a cause.* Let us take some examples.

*Woman
suffrage*

Susan Anthony believed that women should have the same right to vote as men. As the proprietor of the weekly

newspaper known as *The Revolution* she printed this motto on her masthead:

The true republic—men, their rights and nothing more; women, their rights and nothing less.

Following the ratification of the of the Fourteenth Amendment which declared that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States," Miss Anthony went to the polls in Rochester, New York. Casting her ballot for president of the United States, she was promptly arrested on the charge of "voting without having a lawful right to vote." The judge fined her \$100 and costs. Upon hearing the sentence she said: "I will never pay a dollar of your unjust penalty. Resistance to tyranny is obedience to God." The fine is still to be collected! In the course of the trial the judge pointed out that defendants must be treated according to the established form of law. Miss Anthony replied: "Yes, your Honor, but by forms of law, all made by men, interpreted by men, administered by men, in favor of men."

At the age of 80 Miss Anthony surrendered her torch to Carrie Chapman Catt. Mrs. Catt carried the cause to victory when the Nineteenth Amendment became effective in 1920. For 72 years between 1848 when suffrage was first seriously proposed and 1920 American women worked persuasively to educate men to recognize women as political equals. Young women who initiated the crusade were dead when the goal was won. New generations took their places. Matilda Young at the age of nineteen was the youngest in the historic crusade to be arrested in 1919 for applauding suffragist "prisoners" in a District of Columbia court room. She was sentenced to three days imprisonment for her misdemeanor!

Ceaseless campaigns in state legislatures and in Congress by 1920 had brought ratification near. Finally that ratification depended upon the favorable vote of the Tennessee legislature. When the roll was called in the House a tie vote—48 to 48—resulted. That meant the defeat of ratification.

*Mrs. Burn
of
Tennessee*

In the little town of Niota, McMinn County, in eastern Tennessee, a mother followed the news from the legislature meeting in Nashville. She was interested in two items: what results the persuasive Carrie Chapman Catt was achieving, and how her son Harry, a young legislator, was voting. On a blisteringly hot July day as the men struggled with the women suffrage legislation, Mrs. J. L. Burn wrote a note to her son: "I've been watching to see how you stood but have not noticed anything yet." Her letter ended with this powerful exhortation: "Hurrah and vote for suffrage! Don't forget to be a good boy and help Mrs. Catt put the 'rat' in ratification." The one vote of Harry Burn broke the tie. That one vote constitutionally enfranchised 27,000,000 American women's votes in the 1920 national elections.

To a question about what it took to win the vote for women in the United States, Carrie Chapman Catt once gave this laconic answer:

To get that adjective, male, out of the Constitution cost the women of this country 52 years of pauseless campaigning; 56 state referendum campaigns; 480 legislature campaigns to get the suffrage amendments submitted; 47 state constitutional convention campaigns; 277 state party convention campaigns; 30 national party convention campaigns to get suffrage planks in the party platforms; 19 campaigns with 19 successive Congresses to get the federal amendment submitted; and the final ratification campaign.

Millions of dollars were raised, mostly in small sums, and spent with economic care. Hundreds of women gave the accumulated possibilities of an entire lifetime, thousands gave years of their lives, hundreds gave constant interest and such aid as they could. It was a continuous and seemingly endless chain of activity. Young suffragettes who helped forge the last link of that chain were not born when it began. Old suffragettes who helped forge the first link were dead when it ended.

Yes, the cause required such activity—plus the vote of Harry Burn! When the political battle had been won, Governor Nathan Miller of New York commented that there was “no need for a League of Women Voters.” Mrs. Catt retorted: “Free thought, free speech, freedom of organization, and political action are corner stones of American liberty—yet we have heard a group acting under these guarantees called a menace! It will indeed be a menace when any one of these rights is denied.”

*Hugh
Bentley's
cause in
Phenix City*

Phenix City, Russell County, Alabama, is a municipality on the bend of the Chattahoochee River, adjacent to Columbus, Georgia. The United States Army infantry school at Fort Benning lies six miles away. So vicious was the control of Phenix City by gangster syndicates that the Governor of Alabama ordered the National Guard to take over law enforcement. While the militia policed the area, a grand jury in a six weeks' session returned 753 criminal indictments! On an October night in 1951 Albert L. Patterson, attorney-general-elect of Alabama, met in an earnest conference with a dozen citizens. Out of that conference emerged the Russell Betterment Association. Presently Patterson was shot to death by three bullets as he walked from his office and sat down at the wheel of his car.

Hugh Bentley, proprietor of a sports and appliance store, stepped forward upon Patterson's death to become the president of the Russell Betterment Association. Shy, sincere, durable, Hugh Bentley, born in Phenix City, had grown up in the community. Now without fear and with a readiness to face death he led the decent citizens of the community. Responsible citizenship reasserted itself. "Man's being is inseparable from his sense of obligation." Hugh Bentley's performance as an ordinary citizen doing his duty stands as a classic model in the records of American citizen behavior.

*Rickover's
"Nautilus"*

An active citizen must have durability of purpose as well as civic courage. Take Hyman G. Rickover as an example. In 1947 he assumed charge of a project to develop an atomic-powered submarine. The mission produced the *Nautilus*. In 1953 the Secretary of the Navy gave it as his opinion that Rickover had accomplished "the most important piece of development in the history of the navy." Rickover was advanced to the rank of rear admiral, and the Pentagon selected him to supervise the construction of the first full-scale atomic energy plant for peacetime use in the United States. His recognition had not always been so cordial.

"Captain" Rickover completed his assignment on the Manhattan Project at Oak Ridge in 1946. With four associated officers he at once began a tour of the atomic reactor installations to verify a hunch: *an atomic submarine was possible!* He prepared plans and submitted them for construction approval. Patiently doing the official rounds in Washington to explain his program, he won appointment to head the naval reactor branch, Atomic Energy Commission. At the same time he served as the chief of the navy's nuclear power division. A top team of specialists pressed the work. An associate said: "Rickover seldom looks at the

present—always at the future. And he helps others to think that way too.”

When time came for Rickover’s promotion to higher rank, an unimaginative selection board twice passed him by. By the summer of 1953 he faced mandatory retirement at the age of 47. Then the Armed Services Committee of the United States Senate intervened. The Secretary of the Navy appointed a new selection board to review Rickover’s record. Meanwhile the President issued an order to delay Rickover’s retirement in the interest of the nation. In the end the career naval officer, who was being forced into retirement by unappreciative colleagues, advanced to the rank of rear admiral. He proceeded with the development of an industrial power project capable of supplying electricity to a city of 100,000. “The more you sweat in peace,” he said, the less you bleed in war.” This durable citizen equipped with civil courage overcame every bureaucratic roadblock to realize an authentic idea.

In the spring of 1960 the world’s largest nuclear-powered submarine named the U.S.S. *Triton* surfaced off the Delaware coast just before dawn. The ship had completed an 84-day underwater voyage of 41,500 miles. A few hours later the President of the United States fixed the Legion of Merit medal on the tunic of the captain who had completed *Project Magellan*. At the ceremony a proud but modest durable citizen stood beside the President. His name was Hyman G. Rickover, now Vice Admiral, United States Navy. He had not been invited to a similar White House event recognizing the historic achievement of the cruise of the U.S.S. *Nautilus* under the North Polar ice cap.

*Luccock
of Yale*

Halford E. Luccock never held a public office, yet he exercised incomparable public influence. His public office as a private citizen for a quarter of a century was a chair

of homiletics in Yale University Divinity School. New Haven was his post office; the pulpit of the nation his forum. He devoted his life energies to urging fellow citizens to corporate responsibility for human welfare. As an editor of the *Christian Century* and columnist known as Simeon Stylites, he acted on this policy: "Comfort the afflicted and afflict the comfortable." Mercilessly he sought to dethrone "Rocking Horse sermons which move but do not go on; which charge but never advance."

Born the son of a Methodist bishop, he found himself by 1924 shelved by the Methodist Church. Salvaged by the friendship of a publishing agent of the Methodist Book Concern, he was saved for the most useful service of his lifetime. He became the soul-provoking contributing editor of the *Christian Advocate*. From this post he went on to Yale to become America's preacher most quoted by preachers. In the idiom of his age, Luccock brought the ideals of Christ to bear upon the practical issues of living.

In 1960 he rose to the defense of the bear in the old song "The Bear Went Over the Mountain." "People," he pointed out, "see their own side of a controversial question. The trip over the mountain gives them the peek so necessary to understand how life looks to the controversial opponent on the other side."

Men of
light
and
leading

The Koran provides this proverb: "God is with those who persevere." In Job 19 the Old Testament states the same idea in this sentence: "The waters wear the stone." The active citizen, equipped with performance skills, imagination, durability, civil courage, and conviction, performs his duty at his everyday place of work. In such an individual democracy has its invincible foundation for, as Woodrow Wilson said, "democracy releases the energies of every human being." Disraeli spoke of "men of light and leading."

PRACTICE THESE SKILLS

The cause closest to my heart is.....
Accepting my responsibility for tomorrow, I propose to involve myself in the advancement of this cause by

1. Reliably informing myself by these means:

2. Associating myself with others concerned with this cause by

becoming an active member of.....

3. Scheduling a series of goals which must be achieved step by step if the cause is to move forward:

4. Communicating my concern to others by means of:

5. Contributing money toward the support of the cause in the

amount of \$..... to

6. Being ready to endure the pressures which the commitment involves with durability and civil courage.

Yes ☐ No ☐

GENERAL CITIZEN READING AND REFERENCE SUGGESTIONS

Here are some basic books which lucidly discuss our American system of government. You may wish to have your bookseller order them for you as your interest directs. You will probably find them in your public library.

THE CONSTITUTION

The Constitution of the United States: Its Sources and Its Application by Thomas James Norton. Committee for Constitutional Government, Inc., 117 Liberty St., New York 6. Paper 69c; cloth \$2.00. This 319-page book gives the text of the Declaration of Independence, the text of the Constitution, and a list of leading cases expounding the Constitution. The volume has an excellent index. Its chief value lies in the historical background which it gives to each section of the Constitution.

The Constitution of the United States: Analysis and Interpretation edited by Edward S. Corwin. Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C. Cloth \$6.25. This 1361-page volume, prepared by the Legislative Reference Service, Library of Congress, provides an authoritative analysis of the Constitution with annotations of cases decided by the Supreme Court of the United States to June 30, 1952. It has a comprehensive index, table of cases, and schedule of acts of Congress held unconstitutional in whole or in part by the Supreme Court.

Selections from The Federalist: Hamilton, Madison, Jay edited by Henry S. Commager. Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 35 West 32nd St., New York 1. Paper 30c. This 143-page paperback gives the substance of the best commentary on the Constitution, made by the men who were directly concerned with its writing. With concern for the design of the American system of government, the classic deals with the persistent problem of government: how liberty is accommodated to order and how freedom is reconciled with authority.

THE FEDERAL SYSTEM

The American Federal Government by Max Beloff. Oxford University Press, 417 Fifth Ave., New York 16. Paper \$1.50. This 213-page paperback, written by the Gladstone professor of government and public administration, University of Oxford, deals in seven chapters with the federal system: **The American Political System, The Constitution, The President, The Administration, The Congress, The Parties, and Government and the Citizen.** The select bibliography is extremely useful.

American Democracy in Theory and Practice: The National Government by Robert K. Carr, Marver H. Bernstein, and Donald H. Morrison. Rinehart & Company, Inc., 232 Madison Ave., New York 16. Cloth \$6.50. This comprehensive 888-page treatise on American government views political experience in the United States as a continuous experiment in democracy.

U.S.A., Measure of a Nation: A Graphic Presentation of America's Needs and Resources by Thomas R. Carskadon and Rudolf Modley. The Macmillan Co., 60 Fifth Avenue, New York 11. Paper 80c. This 101-page summary of the Twentieth Century Fund's study of **America's Needs and Resources** places the economic issues of American politics in 1960 focus and historical perspective. With simple text and effective visuals, the report humanizes the economy of the nation and shows the role of government in the development of policies expressed in concrete terms of more income, more houses, more shoes, more hours of leisure, more opportunities for culture and education.

The Nation and the States, Rivals or Partners? by William Anderson. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis. Cloth \$3.75. This 263-page book summarizes the findings of the Commission on Intergovernmental Relations which issued its final report in 1955. The commission examined federal-state-local relations in the most detailed inquiry since the adoption of the Constitution. It deals with the cardinal issues of the American constitutional system.

THE PARTIES

National Party Platforms: 1840-1956 compiled by Kirk H. Porter and Donald Bruce Johnson. University of Illinois Press, Urbana. Cloth \$10.00. This 573-page record gives the verbatim text of party platforms over a period of 116 years.

The Two-Party System in the United States by William Goodman. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 120 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J. \$6.00. This comprehensive 641-page study discusses with imagination the way the party system functions. Emphasis is used to inform the active citizen how the system works.

American Political Parties: Their Natural History by Wilfred E. Binkley. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 95 Madison Ave., New York 16. \$4.25. This 470-page volume gives the background and organizational pattern of the Republican and Democratic parties.

Parties and Politics in America by C. L. Rossiter. Cornell University Press, 124 Roberts Place, Ithaca, N. Y. Paper \$1.65; cloth \$2.85. This discussion by one of the nation's most perceptive political scientists is concise and informative.

THE STATES

Patterns of Intergovernmental Relations. Council of State Governments, 1313 East 60th St., Chicago 37. Paper \$1.50. This report brings together a wealth

of experience to show how the segments of the American federal system cooperate in performing public services.

American State Government and Administration by A. F. MacDonald. Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 432 Fourth Ave., New York 16. Cloth \$7.00. "American Commonwealth Series." Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 432 Fourth Ave., New York 16. Individual state governments are discussed in separate volumes, generally less than 500 pages and priced under \$5.00. Ask for the state of your interest, for example, **The Government and Administration of Florida**.

LOCAL GOVERNMENT

City Government in the United States by C. M. Kneier. Harper & Brothers, 49 East 33rd St., New York 16. Cloth \$6.50. This 611-page text gives an overview of municipal activities and political problems.

Government in Rural America by Lane W. Lancaster. D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 120 Alexander St., Princeton, N. J. Cloth \$3.75. This 137-page text reviews local government outside cities.

suggest citizens collect an "issue notebook," which is a cumulative record of facts, information, and opinions, and then prepare a pro and con memorandum. The memorandum is used to present both sides of the issue before the citizen chooses his stand.

Self-evaluation by citizens is also urged by the Rollins writers. Several charts and questionnaires are included in the book to aid Americans in seeing how they rate as citizens.



About the Authors

Educated at Wesleyan University and the Universities of Cincinnati, Chicago, and Berlin, Dr. Paul Douglass is a noted political scientist and the author of numerous books. During his distinguished career, he has been a lawyer, a university president, an ordained Methodist minister, and a journalist. He has also served the national government in various capacities and has acted as adviser to the president of the Republic of Korea.

Alice McMahon was the youngest Florida delegate to the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles in 1960. She is national committee-woman for the Young Democrats of Florida and has been state secretary and district vice president of the organization. Miss McMahon has been at Rollins since her graduation from Manhattanville College. Under her direction, studies, surveys, and projects are carried out at the Center to promote community and student interest in politics.

Both Dr. Douglass and Miss McMahon are constructively concerned over the lack of citizens' interest in political affairs. It is their hope that *How to Be an Active Citizen* will serve as a stimulus to encourage more Americans to take part in political processes.



University of Florida Press
Gainesville

